

*The*  
*Viola da Gamba Society*  
*Journal*

Volume One  
(2007)

# The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain 2006-7

## PRESIDENT

Alison Crum

## CHAIRMAN

Michael Fleming

## COMMITTEE

Elected Members: Michael Fleming, Robin Adams, Alison Kinder

Ex Officio Members: Caroline Wood, Stephen Pegler, Mary Iden

Co-opted Members: Alison Crum, Nigel Stanton, Jacqui Robertson-Wade

## ADMINISTRATOR

Caroline Wood 56 Hunters Way, Dringhouses, York YO24 1JJ

tel/fax: 01904 706959

[admin@vdgs.demon.co.uk](mailto:admin@vdgs.demon.co.uk)

## THE VIOLA DA GAMBA SOCIETY JOURNAL

General Editor: Andrew Ashbee

Editor of Volume 1 (2007):

Andrew Ashbee: 214 Mallings Road, Snodland, Kent ME6 5EQ

[aa0060962@blueyonder.co.uk](mailto:aa0060962@blueyonder.co.uk)

Editor of Volume 2 (2008):

Professor Peter Holman: School of Music, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT

[p.k.holman@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:p.k.holman@leeds.ac.uk)

Full details of the Society's officers and activities, and information about membership, can be obtained from the Administrator. Contributions for *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, which may be about any topic related to early bowed string instruments and their music, are always welcome, though potential authors are asked to contact the editor at an early stage in the preparation of their articles. Finished material should preferably be submitted on IBM format 3.5 inch floppy disc (or by e-mail) as well as in hard copy.

A style guide will be prepared. In the meantime current examples should suffice, together with instructions from the general editor.

# CONTENTS

Editorial	iv
Manuscripts of Consort Music in London, c.1600-1625: some Observations—ANDREW ASHBEE	1
Continuity and Change in English Bass Viol Music: the Case of Fitzwilliam Mu. MS 647—PETER HOLMAN	20
William Young, ‘Englishman’—STEPHEN MORRIS	51
Reviews:	
John Jenkins: three-part fantasias ( <i>Musica Britannica</i> vol. 70) and Fantasia-Suites I ( <i>Musica Britannica</i> vol. 78)—Christopher Field	66
John Ward Consort Music ( <i>Musica Britannica</i> vols. 67 and 83) —David Pinto	73
Anonymous Parisian Gamba duets (France, circa 1750) —Jonathan Dunford	78

## Editorial

Welcome to the first issue of *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, the on-line replacement for *Chelys*, the Society's journal from 1969 to 2004. It is hoped and intended that the new journal will be published annually and that it will continue to be a significant forum for research into bowed string instruments, particularly the viols.

If circumstances allow, each issue will emphasise a particular 'theme', although non-themed articles may be included alongside these. This first issue is concerned with 'sources'. Andrew Ashbee's survey of some Jacobean manuscripts, particularly those associated with the circle of Thomas Myriell and St Paul's, looks at the consort repertory in them rather than the predominant 'voices and viols' music. Peter Holman's exploration of an eighteenth century manuscript collection has revealed exciting new information about its origins. We are very grateful to Stephen Morris for permission to include a slightly re-vamped account of what he has gleaned concerning William Young's biography—from his dissertation (University of Washington, 2004). This is as important for showing the sources searched to no avail as recording those which have provided information on this important mid-seventeenth century player and composer.

In recent years restrictions on the size of *Chelys* have prevented the appearance of reviews of some important editions and books, none more so than *Musica Britannica*. The opportunity is taken here to catch up with some of these. It is expected that the bulk of sheet music reviews will continue to appear in the Society's quarterly *The Viol*, where a faster service to both publishers and players can be provided.

The format should allow a print-out to be made without difficulty.

ANDREW ASHBEE

### Abbreviations:

GMO:           Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians on-line  
ODNB:       Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

# Manuscripts of Consort Music in London, c.1600-1625: some Observations.

ANDREW ASHBEE

The original intention of this paper was to look again at the manuscripts associated with Thomas Myriell from the perspective of instrumental consort music rather than of that of music involving both voice and viols. But as work has progressed a broader view has been taken which I hope will add to my earlier exploration of the transmission of consort music.<sup>1</sup> Many scholars have contributed invaluable research into music manuscripts of the Jacobean period and this study draws heavily on their work. Nevertheless, in pursuing particular lines of enquiry, something of the overall picture is lost and this is an attempt to link the various strands in a useful way.

Over the years the manuscripts of Thomas Myriell and his circle have attracted much interest and research,<sup>2</sup> but understandably this has focussed on the music for voices and viols rather than that for instruments alone. But given the relative paucity of Jacobean sources containing consort music they are of considerable significance here too for, along with 'Tregian's' score-book GB-Lbl, Egerton MS 3665 (not discussed here), they provide the first substantial accumulations of it.

The bulk of surviving sixteenth-century consorts emanate from church composers, many of whom provided teaching and playing material for the choristers. Sources such as John Baldwin's commonplace book (GB-Lbl, R.M. 24.d.2) include In Nomines and proportion exercises, here within a largely vocal collection.<sup>3</sup> But by 1600 Italian madrigals and motets were enthusiastically received and sung/played by the aristocracy and by groups of merchants and their friends in London and at Court. Two major studies and offshoots<sup>4</sup> have comprehensively examined the principal manuscripts in this group and have concluded that scribes at Court were responsible for most of

---

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Ashbee, 'The Transmission of Consort Music in Some Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts', in *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, eds. Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman, Oxford, 1996, 243-70.

<sup>2</sup> Principally Pamela Willetts, 'Musical Connections of Thomas Myriell', *Music & Letters*, XLIX (1968), 36-42; *id.* 'The Identity of Thomas Myriell', *Music & Letters*, LIII (1972), 431-433; Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music*, Ann Arbor, 1982; *id.* Thomas Myriell's Manuscript Collection: One View of Musical Taste in Jacobean London, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Autumn, 1977), pp. 419-465.

<sup>3</sup> See Roger Bray, 'British Library, R.M. 24.d.2 (John Baldwin's commonplace book): an index and commentary', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 12, 1974, 137-151.

<sup>4</sup> Derry Bertenshaw, The influence of the late 16th century Italian polyphonic madrigal on the English viol consort, c.1600-45: a background study, (unpublished Ph D thesis, Leicester, 1992) [hereafter DBa]; *id.* 'Madrigals and madrigalian fantasies: the five-part consort music of John Coprario and Thomas Lupo', *Cheyls* 26 (1998), 26-51; Lydia Hamessley, The reception of the Italian madrigal in England: a repertorial study of manuscript anthologies, ca. 1580-1620, (unpublished Ph D dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1989) [hereafter LHa]; *id.* 'The Tenbury and Ellesmere Partbooks: New Findings on Manuscript Compilation and Exchange, and the Reception of the Italian Madrigal in Elizabethan England', *Mc&L* 73 (May 1992), 177-221. See also work by Richard Charteris and David Pinto noted later.

them, even if many belonged to, or found their way to the households of the nobility. It is within these manuscripts that the consorts of Thomas Lupo, John Coprario and Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger first emerge. Curiously it is the vocal music of the long-absent Alfonso Ferrabosco the elder which provides the glue binding these sources.

All major manuscripts containing the elder Alfonso Ferrabosco's music are English. It appears that he left England hastily after his marriage in May 1578 and presumably was unable to take many of his copies with him. Maybe they were stored with Gomar van Oosterwijck, one of the court wind players, who had care of Ferrabosco's two children from that time. Ferrabosco the elder died in 1588 without ever returning to England. After Oosterwijck's death in July 1592 Ferrabosco the younger, then aged about seventeen, was granted an annuity by Elizabeth I of forty marks (£26. 13s. 4d.), but no actual musical post at Court. He eventually gained a position in 1601, nominally in the violin consort, having petitioned that he was being neglected and 'kept hidd from her ma<sup>ts</sup> knowledge'.<sup>5</sup> Whatever the communications between the elder Ferrabosco and England in his last ten years, his music remained readily available in and around Elizabeth's and then James's court; surviving manuscripts show it continued to be copied avidly.

A key source of Ferrabosco I's music is GB-Och, Mus. 78-82, a comprehensive collection of 86 motets and madrigals by him. In the on-line Christ Church music catalogue John Milsom observes that the music in 78-82 is grouped into five layers: (1) 1-8: motets in high clefs; (2) 9-20: multi-section motets; (3) 21-40: motets in low clefs, with no. 40 being a late addition; (4) no. 41: part of the Lamentations; (5) 42-87: madrigals. The last section begins with a complete transcription of the first volume of Ferrabosco's five-part madrigals, Venice, 1587, in the order of the print. Apart from revisions to no. 41 and an unidentified consort score at no. 88, the work is entirely that of one scribe, who also wrote GB-Lbl, Madrigal Society MSS G.44-7 and 49. The latter set has similar contents, but selects just 17 of the 41 motets and 18 of the 46 madrigals of 78-82. Bertenshaw believes the Madrigal Society set came after 78-82.<sup>6</sup> Richard Charteris notes 'an earlier unrevised version' for many of the pieces in 78-82 and G.44-7 and 49 compared with the readings for them elsewhere, including US-NH, Filmer MS 1.<sup>7</sup> The question 'Who made the revisions?' has not been asked, but could they have been by persons in England rather than by the composer?

Filmer 1 contains mostly vocal music in from three to six parts by numerous composers. Hamessley notes the binding and cover stamp as 'quite common', but similar to those on 'a copy of Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* in the Folger Shakespeare Library[,] ... on a Bassus partbook that belonged to Sir John Petre (Essex Record Office, MS. D/Dp Z6/1) and on two different manuscripts from the Paston collection ... [GB-Lbl], Add. 31992 and [GB-Ob]

---

<sup>5</sup> Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 98/94, quoted in Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, VIII, 51-2.

<sup>6</sup> DBa, ii, 8.

<sup>7</sup> C22, C23, C24, C25, C37, C43, C44, C45, C46, C47, C52, C63, C79 in Richard Charteris, *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543-1588): A Thematic Calendar of His Music with a Biographical Calendar*, New York, 1984.

Tenbury 369-74.<sup>8</sup> Both Bertenshaw and Hamessley assign a date for the main collection between 1588—when the latest known printed source appeared—and the death of Elizabeth in 1603, after which the text of the anonymous anthem on f.55v: *O mighty God preserve the throne of thy servant Elizabeth* would be redundant. It is the third section of the books which is of particular interest here, where again the music of Ferrabosco I predominates. He is represented by sacred music (nos. 64-74 and 76-88) and madrigals (nos. 109-126 and 140-143). If the layers of 78-82 are unscrambled, all the sacred music in Filmer 1 is found there, but in view of all the revisions Filmer 1 was not linked textually to 78-82 or to the Madrigal Society books. However, Bertenshaw suggests that a second copyist in the Filmer books also hurriedly copied a ‘quasi-score’ on the final ruled leaf of Och 80. Furthermore he presents persuasive (if not entirely conclusive) arguments that this is none other than John Bull, comparing the script with the Bull fragments in PRO (=TNA), SP46/126 and SP45/162 and with the signatures in the Chapel Royal Cheque Book.<sup>9</sup> Given that this copyist was also responsible for no. 94, an *In Nomine* by [Leonard] Woodson<sup>10</sup>, such a link between church musicians lends support to his suggestion. There were three Woodsons with Bull in the Chapel Royal at James I’s accession as well as John Baldwin from Windsor. The same scribe also wrote all but the alto of an unidentified textless Italian madrigal on original f.40v (now 68v and grouped with section four).<sup>11</sup>

There is also an association between Filmer 1 and GB-Och, Mus. 463-7. Within both these collections of Ferrabosco I’s music is embedded *Qui consolatur me* by Clemens non Papa.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore the sequence Filmer nos. 69-74 and 463-7 nos. 4-9 is identical. On the other hand Ferrabosco’s *Magna est Gloria eius* (463-7 no. 11) is not in Filmer 1, but does occur in Och 78-82.<sup>13</sup> Ferrabosco I’s *In Nomines* appear within the sacred music group in both sources. VdGS no. 3 of these is not present in 463-7, but only in Filmer 1, where the words ‘Exaudi vocem meam’ are underlaid at the opening of the middle voice. This version of the piece, but without the text, occurs again in Tregian’s score GB-Lbl, Egerton 3665. Paul Doe remarks that these two sources

contain a significantly different version from that of the first four sources<sup>14</sup>, yet correspond with each other so closely as to suggest that one was copied from

---

<sup>8</sup> LHa, i, 97, part of a general description of the manuscript, 95-125.

<sup>9</sup> DBa, ii, 51-4 and associated facsimiles. Pamela Willetts questions whether the NA fragments are in Bull’s hand and suggests they might be Benjamin Cosyn’s: ‘Benjamin Cosyn: Sources and circumstance’, in *Sundry sorts of music books. Essays on The British Library Collections Presented to O. W. Neighbour on his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday*, eds. Chris Banks, Arthur Searle, Malcom Turner, London, 1993, 142.

<sup>10</sup> Lay clerk at St George’s, Windsor from 1599 and deputy master of the choristers there from 1605; also organist at Eton 1614-47.

<sup>11</sup> Bertenshaw and Hamessley differ in their assignment of copyists, but both agree on the work cited here. Bertenshaw’s copyist ‘C’ equals Hamessley’s ‘B’ and ‘C’.

<sup>12</sup> Filmer 1, no. 75; Mus. 463-7, no. 25.

<sup>13</sup> It is also in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C45-50.

<sup>14</sup> GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-16; GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 39550-4; GB-Lbl, Add. MS 32377; GB-Lbl, Add. MS 29247.

the other. In them, the piece has been systematically revised as though to adapt it to a text, or to a different text from that of the alternative version<sup>15</sup>.

All three *In Nomines* continued in popularity through the first half of the seventeenth century. Filmer 1 also contains the two six-part pavans by William White, but Hamessley identifies the copyist of these as from the Caroline period, since he also wrote music by 'Mr. Flecknall' [Richard Flecknoe], Richard Portman, John Wilson, Thomas Holmes and 'Mr. [Estienne] Noe' at the end of section five.<sup>16</sup>

There is a clue that Och 463-7 was compiled after the accession of James I through the presence of an anonymous five-part motet *Felices Britones* (ff. 12v-13r).<sup>17</sup> The text praises James and his family and the new unity of Scotland, England and Ireland. Its origins have not been traced, but it may belong to civic pageantry or a royal 'progress' rather than a church service. 'Nicolas Lanier' appears on a stub, presumably the wind player (d. 1612) and recipient of leases granted by Elizabeth I. This snippet gives every appearance of being culled from such a document.

Another contemporary set is GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.45-50. This is principally the work of two scribes, with small contributions by two others, none of whom has been identified. The first scribe (A) began three numbered series two in five parts and the third in six. The first opens with thirteen motets by Ferrabosco the elder, not quite matching the individual selections in GB-Och 78-82, 463-7 and Filmer 1, but all pieces are duplicated in one or other of those sources. The second group begins with instrumental pieces: five-part fantasias VdGS nos. 1-4 by Thomas Lupo, followed by Coprario's ['Io son ferito amore'] (VdGS 2) and 'Fugga dunque la luce' (VdGS 20). Canto (C45) and basso (C50) parts of the last of these were copied by a third hand to complete the work of scribe A in this group. Scribe B continues the work of A, but not necessarily in conjunction with him. Following the above pieces he wrote another five madrigals/fantasias by Coprario:

- 37. 'Lume tuo fugace' VdGS 4
- 41. 'Occhi miei' VdGS 46
- 42. 'Caggia fuoco' VdGS 19
- 43. 'Fugi se sai fuggire' VdGS 38
- 44. 'Deh cara anima' VdGS 32

together with two madrigals by Ferrabosco the elder and one by Marenzio (nos. 38-40). After this he added more music in the gaps between the sections, much of which is incomplete. Bass parts to six fantasias a5 by Lupo—the four copied by Scribe A and additionally VdGS nos. 5 and 11—are followed by eight motets by Ferrabosco the younger. Treble parts to five of these are placed later, between the main sections two and three (leaving three without the treble), to which group are added treble and bass to *Incipit lamentatio*, treble to *Omnes amice eius* and bass to *Non est qui consoletur*. Five complete six-part

---

<sup>15</sup> Paul Doe (ed.), 'Elizabethan Consort Music: I', *Musica Britannica* XLIV, London 1979, 191.

<sup>16</sup> LHa, i, 106-7.

<sup>17</sup> I am very grateful to John Milsom for alerting me to this piece and for corresponding about it.



works come at the end of the copying, but the rubric ‘fancies of Wards in 6’ suggests that scribe B’s final piece, Ward’s fantasia VdGS no. 1, was intended to be the first of a group.

Here then is a group of sources, evidently connected, quite possibly compiled by scribes in the Chapel Royal or others at Court. Instrumental music is hardly represented, although a line of succession begins for copies of the *In Nomines* of Ferrabosco I. Both Hamessley and Bertenshaw suggest that two more sources, Tenbury MSS 940-4 and US-SM, Ellesmere MSS EL 25 A 46-51, also date from the turn of the century. Hamessley compares twenty madrigals found in both anthologies with previous prints and finds that Tenbury matches the prints closely while Ellesmere often differs in details and in two instances clearly shows derivation from Tenbury.<sup>18</sup> Tenbury contains solely madrigals so is of no concern here. The Ellesmere books are thought to have been made originally for William Herbert, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Pembroke, (1580-1630) because of ‘W. H.’ on the covers, but in later years came to John Egerton (1633-1688).<sup>19</sup> Of the five hands present the first three (A-C) represent the earliest history of the books, while the fourth (D) probably dates from the 1620s-30s and the last (E) (of lyra viol pieces only) is from the mid-seventeenth century. Scholars suggest that scribe A conceived the whole contents, began copying and numbering the pieces (1-4, 11-13, 21-25, 36-41), but broke off leaving gaps to be filled later. Initially this was attempted by scribe B, who neglected to number his work [26-35, 45-58]. B also wrote all the six-part works. Hamessley suggests that scribe A then returned and added less tidy, less accurate copies [14-18, 42-44].<sup>20</sup> Bertenshaw believes scribe C to be William Herbert himself and provides comparative evidence from a contemporary letter written by Herbert.<sup>21</sup> A former suggestion that this hand was that of John Coprario<sup>22</sup> draws attention to the possibility that Coprario was with Herbert at this time and that Herbert’s competent script was modelled on that of Coprario. Bertenshaw finds that on succeeding to the earldom of Pembroke (19 January 1600/1) Herbert thereafter signed as ‘Pembroke’ and he argues that ‘W. H.’ suggests the books were bound before that date.<sup>23</sup>

Scribe B included several madrigals/fantasias by Coprario:

Fuggendo mi strugge	a5	VdGS 45 (textless)
Con viva	a5	VdGS 46 (textless)
Io son ferito a’ morte	a5	VdGS 2 (textless)
Che mi consigne amore	a6	VdGS 6 (with text)
Udite lagrimosi spirit	a6	VdGS 8 (with text)
Risurgente Madonna	a6	VdGS 4 (textless)
Sospirando	a6	VdGS 5 (textless)
Al folgorante sguardo	a6	VdGS 3 (textless)

<sup>18</sup> LHa, i, 84-95.

<sup>19</sup> See Richard Charteris, ‘The Huntington Library Part Books, Ellesmere MSS EL 25 A 46-51’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 50, 1987, 59-84; LHa, i, 68-70; DBa, ii, 21-5.

<sup>20</sup> LHa, i, 76.

<sup>21</sup> DBa, ii, 22-24 and related facsimiles.

<sup>22</sup> Christopher Field, review in *Music & Letters*, 62, 1981, 101.

<sup>23</sup> DBa, ii, 23.

Scribe D's contribution includes an *In Nomine* by Cranford which suggests a date no earlier than the 1620s, but most of the other pieces are known in English copies from Myriell's circle, maybe some ten years earlier (Table 1):

Folio	Composer	Title	Lbl, Add 29427 no.	Och, Mus. 67 Folio
32v	Weelkes	O my son Absalom	45	
32v	Weelkes	O Jonathan	46	
33r	Monteverdi	Ond'ei di morte	89	23v
33r	Marenzio	Ond'ei di morte	97	32r
33r	Anon.	Filli mirand:		
33v	Monteverdi	Là tra'l	90	24v
33v	Cranford	In Nomine		
33v	Ferrabosco II	In Nomine 1	78	
34r	Ferrabosco II	In Nomine 2	79	

TABLE 1: Scribe 'C's contribution to US-SM, Ellesmere MSS EL 25 A 46-51.

This copyist has been identified with scribe 'B' of GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 40657-61, the partbooks belonging to Sir Henry Shirley of Staunton Harrold, Leicestershire (d.1633), although the end-of-line directs differ.

Turning now to Thomas Myriell's manuscripts, the first interesting point is that there are no duplicate instrumental pieces in the four relevant manuscripts he helped copy: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 29427, GB-Och, 61-6, 67 and 44. Table 2 gives a summary of the consorts found there (excluding groups of untexted five-part Italian madrigals):

Three-part		GB-Lbl, Add. 29427	GB-Och, Mus. 61-6	GB-Och, Mus. 67	GB-Och, Mus. 44
Lupo	Fantasias	10			
Gibbons	Fantasias		8		
<b>Four-part</b>					
Wilbye	Fantasias	3			
Guami	Fantasias	2			
Byrd	Fantasias	2			
Moscaglia	Madrigal	1	[1585/29]		
Macque	Madrigal	1	[1594/7]		
Ferrabosco II	Fantasias	13			
<b>Five-part</b>					
Ferrabosco II	In Nomine	2			
Ferrabosco I	In Nomine	2			
Coprario	Fantasia		11	2	
Lupo	Fantasia			2	
Ward	Fantasia			2	4
W. White	Fantasia			1	2
Simmes	Fantasia			1	
<b>Six-part</b>					
Ferrabosco II	Fantasia				2
W. White	Fantasia				2
W. White	Pavan				1

Coprario	Fantasia				1
Coleman	Fantasia				5
Ives	In Nomine				1
Ferrabosco II	In Nomine				1

TABLE 2: *summary of consorts in Myriell's manuscripts.*

Monson suggests that the earliest compilation made by Myriell (*d.* 1625) is represented by GB-Lbl, Add. MS 29427, now a sole surviving alto partbook, largely dating from before Myriell's most famous collection, *Tristitia Renedium* which is headed '1616'.<sup>24</sup> On the basis that Martin Peerson is described as 'Ba: Mu:', (acquired at Oxford, 8 July 1613), Monson also suggests that Add. 29427 was begun no earlier than 1612-13. However, he shows that the five-part vocal music on ff. 13r-44v incorporating Peerson's works was evidently inserted within the four-part instrumental collection and the original numbering was altered. It is possible then that the instrumental music was copied even earlier. Myriell was not appointed to a London living until 1616. Having gained his degree and ordination at Cambridge (1600-01) he is known later at Cold Norton, Essex (1609), and Barnet, Hertfordshire (1610). But he preached at St Paul's Cross in 1610, so already had London connections.<sup>25</sup>

Folios 2r-7v of Add. 29427 contain ten three-part fantasias, unattributed, but by Lupo.<sup>26</sup> The same selection begins the three-part works in GB-Och 423-8 (again all by Lupo) and implies some kind of link between the two sources.<sup>27</sup> The latter came into the hands of John Browne and may have belonged to his father (or possibly uncle John). It is quite possible that in origin the two sources are roughly contemporary. Monson notes that the scribe of ff. 2r-7v also copied works from Leighton's *The Teares or Lamentations of a Sorronful Soule* (1614) in GB-Lbl, Royal Appendix MS 63, but it is a hand not identified elsewhere.

The four-part group is unusual in its make-up and may reflect restrictions Myriell faced when compiling his collection away from London. The three four-part fantasias by Wilbye which open the four-part section are unique to this source and, as Monson suggests, probably arise from Myriell's East Anglian links. Also unknown elsewhere in English sources are the two *Canzonette alla Francese* by Gioseffo Guami which follow.<sup>28</sup> After the insertion of five-part vocal music noted above the four-part consorts continue from f.45r with two fantasias by Byrd, the first incomplete elsewhere and the second re-arranged by the composer as 'In manus tuas' in the 1605 *Gradualia*.<sup>29</sup> The two pieces by Moscaglia and de Macque are otherwise unknown in English

<sup>24</sup> *Voices and Viols*, 5-15.

<sup>25</sup> See Willetts, 'The Identity of Thomas Myriell' for more details.

<sup>26</sup> VdGS Nos. 2, 3, 10-12, 4, 22, 25, 7, 8.

<sup>27</sup> In 423-8 the original scribe ('A') wrote nos. 1-11 (1-10 corresponding with Add. 29427) and (in 423) one part of nos. 12-13; the rest (14-18) were added by Browne and one of his assistants. See below, p. 15.

<sup>28</sup> 'La Chromatica' and 'La Tedeschina', nos. 11 and 5 from *Partidura per sonare della Canzonette alla Francese*, Venice?, 1601.

<sup>29</sup> Oliver Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, London, 1978, 92-3.

manuscripts. More familiar ground is reached with thirteen fantasias by Ferrabosco the younger.<sup>30</sup>

The bulk of the five-part consorts in Add. 29427 comprises eighteen textless Italian madrigals, but these are preceded by four In Nomines by the two Alfonso Ferraboscis:

Folio	No.	Composer	Title	VdGS No.
54r	78	Ferrabosco II	In Nomine	2
54v	79	Ferrabosco II	In Nomine	1
55r	80	Ferrabosco I	In Nomine	3
55v	81	Ferrabosco I	In Nomine	1

All these seem to have circulated widely at the time. Incidentally only Tregian (Egerton 3665) and (later) Sir Nicholas L'Estrange copied these two In Nomines by the younger Ferrabosco in this reverse order.

There is plenty of evidence (as Monson shows) that GB-Och, Mus. 61-6 is a later compilation, probably dating from the early 1620s. The first items are eight of Orlando Gibbons's three-part fantasias<sup>31</sup> (omitting no. 3 of the published set), four of which Myriell also copied in GB-Och, Mus. 459-62, mixed with Lupo:

61-6 Folio	61-6 No.	VdGS No.	Composer	459-62 No.	Add. 29427
		14	Lupo	1	--
1r	1	1	Gibbons	2	
1v	2	2	Gibbons	3	
		2	Lupo	4	[1]
		10	Lupo	5	3
2r	3	4	Gibbons		
2v	4	5	Gibbons	6	
3r	5	6	Gibbons		
3v	6	7	Gibbons	7	
4r	7	8	Gibbons		
4v	8	9	Gibbons		
		24	Lupo	8	--

Eleven five-part textless madrigals/fantasias by Coprario provide the 'Italian' contribution to these books:

Folio	No.	Title	VdGS No.
34r	1	Leno	47
34v	2	Luce beata e care	9
35r	3	Lucretia mia	12
35v	4	[Fantasia without title]	49
36r	5	Cresce in voi	16
36v	6	Crudel perche	1
37r	7	Io son ferrito	2
37v	8	Voi caro il mio contento	17
38r	9	Fuga dunque la luce	20
38v	10	O sonno della mio morte	21
39r	11	Dolce ben mio	22

<sup>30</sup> Folios 46v-52v: VdGS Nos. 7, 9, 8, 6, 4, 15, 1, 2, 12, 23, 14, 16, 5.

<sup>31</sup> See David Pinto, 'Gibbons in the Bedchamber', in Ashbee and Holman, *John Jenkins and His Time*, 89-109 for evidence on dating.

The first and fourth of these are absent from Egerton 3665, which otherwise supplies the most comprehensive collection of these pieces.

Folios 76r-81v incorporate a mixed group of six-part consorts:

Folio	Composer	Title	VdGS No.
76r	Ferrabosco II	[Fantasia]	2
76v	W. White	[Fantasia]	5
77r	W. White	[Fantasia]	6
77v	Coprario	[Fantasia]	6
78r	Coleman	[Fantasia]	1
78v	Coleman	[Fantasia]	2
79r	Coleman	[Fantasia]	4
79v	Coleman	[Fantasia]	5
80r	Coleman	[Fantasia]	3
80v	Ferrabosco II	[Fantasia]	3
81r	Ferrabosco II	In Nomine	1
81v	Ives	In Nomine	2

The presence of Coleman and Ives in this selection again indicates a date after 1620, where three of the works are unique to this source (Coleman VdGS nos. 3 and 4 and the Ives *In Nomine*). The Coprario too is only found elsewhere in GB-Lbl, Mad. Soc. G37-42 and the Ellesmere partbooks noted earlier. All the rest became popular enough to find their way to Hatton's 'Great Set' and differing selections to Browne, L'Estrange, Shirley and Marsh among others.

The other two sources involving Myriell as copyist are an organ book (GB-Och, Mus. 67) and a score (GB-Och, Mus. 44). Mus. 67 is a hotch-potch, providing organ parts for music from Lbl, Add. 29427, *Tristitiae Remedium*, and Och, Mus. 61-6.<sup>32</sup> These selections are all from the vocal music, however. Several hands are involved, but the bulk of the book is copied by Myriell and an unidentified scribe whom Monson suggests was the organist of the group. Whether by accident or design ff. 1-19 include pieces from Mus. 61-6, ff. 23-32 pieces from Add. 29427 and ff. 52-72 pieces from *Tristitiae Remedium*. In addition Monson identifies Thomas Tomkins as the scribe of Marenzio's 'I must depart' (also from *Tristitiae Remedium*) added on f. 20v. Details of the instrumental pieces are as follows:

Folio	Composer	Title	VdGS No.	Scribe	Comment
7v	Ferrabosco II	[Fantasia]	1 a4	Organist	Incomplete 29427, f. 49v
11v	Lupo	[Fantasia]	2 a 5	Organist	
13r	[Ward]	[Fantasia]	10 a 5	Organist	
27v	Coprario	[Fantasia]	48 a 5		
28v	W. White	[Fantasia]	1 a 5		
29v	Ward	Cor Mio	12 a5		
36v	J. Lupo	Alte Parole	9 a 5		By Thomas?
37v	Simmes	[Fantasia]	7 a 5		Och 716-20
39v	Coprario	[Fantasia]	49 a 5		Incomplete;

<sup>32</sup> See Monson, *Voices and Viols*, 31-38 for details.

					61-6, no. 4
--	--	--	--	--	-------------

There is nothing much to report here, except these are the only instances (ff. 7v and 39v) of consorts duplicated in two surviving Myriell sources—albeit neither complete. Also another attribution of *Alte Parole* to Joseph rather than Thomas Lupo increases doubts as to the true authorship.<sup>33</sup>

Mus. 44, a score book, came into the hands of Benjamin Cosyn and some parts were added by him.<sup>34</sup> Myriell's contribution includes the following:

Folio	Composer	Title	VdGS No.	Leather books
1v	[T. Lupo]	Fantasia	5 a 5	83
4r	[T. Lupo]	[Fantasia]	11 a 5	84
8r	[T. Lupo]	[Fantasia]	14 a 5	85
11r	[T. Lupo]	[Fantasia]	12 a 5	86
13v	Ward	Fantasia	3 a 5	59
17v	Ward	Fantasia	9 a 5	60
21v	Coprario	Per fa una	31 a 5	69
24v	Coprario	Fuggi	38 a 5	70
27v	Coprario	[Gittene Ninfe]	34 a 5	110
30v	Coprario	Io piango	5 a 5	68
34v	W. White	[Fantasia]	3 a 5	26
37v	W. White	[Fantasia]	2 a 5	27
40v	Ward	[Fantasia]	2 a 5	54
43r	Ward	[Fantasia]	5 a 5	56
105v	W. White	Pavan	2 a 6	156
107v	Ward	Fantasia	3 a 6	164
110v	Ward	Fantasia	7 a 6	168
113v	[T. Lupo]	Fantasia	1 a 6	180

The only additional non-instrumental items are two madrigals (by Marenzio and Monteverdi respectively) and an anthem by Milton on ff. 47v-52v. It would appear that the consorts all derive from a lost 'le[ather] boo:' [book or books], as does Lupo's fantasia VdGS no. 2 and *Alte Parole* in Mus. 67. This seems to be a set of associated partbooks, clearly a large collection of five- and six-part music at least, with some evidence that the contents were grouped by composer:

No.	Composer	Genre	VdGS No.	L'Estrange (a)	Browne (b)	Merro (c)	Barnard (d)	Score (e)
26	W. White	Fantasia	3 a 5	2 A Dru		1		Yes
27	W. White	Fantasia	2 a 5	3 A Dru				Yes
36	T. Lupo	Fantasia	2 a 5		4			
38	J./T. Lupo	Fantasia	9 a 5					
54	Ward	Fantasia	2 a 5	5 B				Yes
56	Ward	Fantasia	5 a 5	10 B				Yes
58	Ward	Fantasia	3 a 5	6 B				Yes
60	Ward	Fantasia	9 a 5	12 B				Yes
68	Coprario	Fantasia	5 a 5	'15' B			I/11	Yes
69	Coprario	Fantasia	31 a 5	1145/p.88				Yes
70	Coprario	Fantasia	38 a 5	1145/p.99			II/13	Yes
83	T. Lupo	Fantasia	5 a 5			1		

<sup>33</sup> See also below, pp. 12-13. 'Thomas' is crossed out and 'Joseph' substituted in Mus. 67.

<sup>34</sup> Pamela Willetts, 'Benjamin Cosyn: Sources and circumstances', in *Sundry Sorts of Music Books*, British Library, 1993, 129-45.

84	T. Lupo	Fantasia	11 a 5		5	2	9	
85	T. Lupo	Fantasia	14 a 5		8	3	10	
86	T. Lupo	Fantasia	12 a 5		6	4	6	
110	Coprario	Fantasia	34 a 5	1145/p.78	19		I/14	Yes
156	W. White	Pavan	2 a 6	7 A	1			
164	Ward	Fantasia	3 a 6	2 B	7	2		Yes
168	Ward	Fantasia	7 a 6	6 B	9	6		Yes
189	T. Lupo	Fantasia	1 a 6	1 B				Yes

- (a) GB-Lbl, Add. 39,550-4, or GB-Lcm, 1145; no/page and scribe
- (b) GB-Och, Mus. 423-8
- (c) US-NYP, Drexel 4180-5
- (d) US-Wc, ML990.C66F4, vols. I and II.
- (e) GB-Och, Mus. 67

We can surmise more Lupo at 37 and Ward at 55, 57 and 59 and 165-7. Indeed 165-7 may well match the sequence in Sir Nicholas L'Estrange's group in Add. MSS 39550-4 or that in Merro's Add. MSS 17792-6.<sup>35</sup> There is no evidence that the leather books belonged to Myriell, but they are certainly linked to his circle.

There is another manuscript which must be closely associated with contemporary London sources, but which has received scant attention apart from one important article by Ross Duffin. This is the little-known MS f.35v at Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, given by Mrs Dudley S. Blossom in 1938 and usually called 'The Blossom partbooks'.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately only three of the five or six partbooks are present. This is a summary of the contents:

Folio/No.	Composer	Title	VdGS No.	Myriell	Browne
1r/1	Peerson	O that my wayes		29427/35	
2v/2	T. Lupo	Fantasia	12 a5	44/f.11r*	423-8/6; 716/30
3v/3	Milton	Fantasia	4 a5 [unique]		
4v/4	T. Tomkins	a6: It is my well beloved's voice		29427/116	
5v/5	East	Vixi [Fantasia]	1610/VI		716/42
6v/6	T. Tomkins	a6: Celebrate Jehovam	[unique]		
7v/7	Deering	Fantasia	4 a5		
8v/8	Weelkes	a6: O vos omnes	[unique]		
9r/9	Masnelli	Non vi bastava		29427/96	
9v/10	Wilbye	O wretched man		TR/236	
10r/11	Quintiani	Al suo d'amata		29427/91	
10v/12	Milton	a6: Fair Orian in the morne		TR/258	
11v/13	Ward	Fantasia	6 a5		
12v/14	Kirby	a6: Sleepe now my muse			
13v/15	Coprario	Fuggi [Fantasia]	38 a5	44/f.24v*	
14v/16	Marenzio	a6: Shall I live so far distant		TR/246	

<sup>35</sup> VdGS nos. 3, 4 and 5: nos. 4-6 in 39550-4, or nos. 5, 6 and 4: ff. 109v-111v in Add. 17792-6.

<sup>36</sup> A first description and examination is given by Ross W. Duffin, 'New light on Jacobean taste and practice in music for voices and viols', in *Le Concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance: actes du XXXIV<sup>e</sup> Colloque Renaissance, 1-11 juillet 1991*, pp. 601-618.

15v/17	T. Lupo	Fantasia	11 a5	44/f.4r*	423-8/5; 716/29
16v/18	Simmes	Arise. arise		29427/51 TR/40	
18v/19	Deering	Fantasia	7 a5		
19v/20	Milton	O woe is me		29427/50, 106	
20v/21	T. Lupo	Fantasia	2 a5	67/f.11v*	423-8/4; 716/28
21v/22	East	Hence stars			
22v/23	Milton	Fantasia	1 a5		423-8/9
23v/24	T. Tomkins	O Lord, let me know mine end		29427/39	
25v/25	Ward	<i>Non fu senza</i>	14 a5		
26v/26	Weelkes	a6: Cease now delight		29427/23 TR/232	
27v/27	T. Lupo	Fantasia	3 a5		423-8/2; 716/26
28v/28	T. Lupo	<i>Heu mihi Domine</i>		29427/115 TR/197	
29r/29	[T. Lupo]	<i>O vos omnes</i>		29427/56 TR/152	
29v/30	J. Lupo	<i>Alte parole</i>	9 a5 [T. Lupo]	67/36v*	
30v/31	Ferrabosco [I]	Zephirus brings the time		TR/176	
31v/32	Deering	Fantasia	8 a5		
32v/33	Byrd	<i>In resurrectione tua</i>		29427/44 TR/96	
33r/34	Monteverdi	<i>O com'e gran martire</i>		29427/93 67/f.25v	
33v/35	Coprario	[ <i>Al primo giorno</i> ] Fantasia	10 a5		
34v/36	Wilbye	a6: Softly, O softly		TR/240	
35v/37	East	<i>Credidi</i> [Fantasia]	1610/V		
36r/38	Vecchi	<i>Clorinda</i>		29427/92	
36v/39	D. [sic] Giles	Cease now, vaine thoughts		29427/16	
37r/40	T. Tomkins	O thrice blessed		29427/17 TR/51	
37v/41	Milton	Fantasia	2 a5		423-8/10
38/42	Ward	<i>Cor mio</i>	12 a5	67/f.29v	423-8/18
38v/43	Byrd	<i>Ne irascaris</i> (i)		TR/146 B-Bc 4109/186	
39r/44	T. Lupo	<i>Hierusalem</i>			
39v/45	Deering	Fantasia	1 a5		423-8/17
40v/46	Wilbye	a6: Long have I made		TR/242	
41v/47	Coprario	<i>In te mio nove</i> [Fantasia]	6 a5		
42v/48	T. Lupo	<i>Miserere mei Domine</i>		TR/95, 153	
43r/49	Byrd	<i>Deus venerunt gentes</i> [i]		B-Bc 4109/190	
43v/50	Ward	Fantasia	3 a5	44/13v*	
44v/51	Wilbye	Sweet hony-		TR/114	



		sucking bee [i]			
45v/52	Coprario	<i>Per far</i> [Fantasia]	31 a5	44/21v*	
46r/53	Coprario	Fantasia	53 a5 [unique]		
46v/54	Eremita	<i>So far, deare life</i>		TR/143	
47v/55	Wilbye	<i>Weepe mine eyes</i>		TR/117	
48v/56	T. Lupo	<i>Salva nos domine</i>		29427/114 TR/181	

\* pieces also found in the leather book[s]. ‘TR’ = *Tristitiae Remedium* GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 29372-7.

Professor Duffin is planning a full study of the manuscript and its origins and it is not my intention here to intrude upon this. Of the fifty-six pieces, mixing instrumental consorts with Italian and English madrigals, anthems and motets (ten in six parts, the rest in five), four are unique to this source, while thirty-five appear in Myriell’s collections. Duffin’s proposal is that the collection was conceived as a whole, grouping one or more vocal pieces with the preceding instrumental one, and he offers a wealth of argument to demonstrate the idea. A complete performance of the music would surely have spread over several days – something like Holy Week comes to mind. At other times the sub-groupings could be part of individual consort meetings. Duffin points out aspects of symmetry and comments on the regular placing of six-part works at (6), 16, 26, 36, 46 to head sub-groups.<sup>37</sup> Further links are traced in the relationships between texts and in the use of modes. As now formed there is a strong case for accepting his proposal. But in personal correspondence David Pinto has suggested that the initial base could just as easily have been the instrumental pieces and that, as was often the case, these were copied on separate folios to avoid show-through. He notes that with one exception this is the group most regularly placed within the partbooks. There are anomalies facing both suggestions (as the authors acknowledge). It may be that the present arrangement was not initially planned but arose after a few pieces had been copied. I am not convinced that much significance should necessarily be placed on some of the pairings; it may simply have been a case of finding a short piece (perhaps in a suitable mode) to fill the available gap (as with the Masnelli/Weelkes pairing mentioned below). Against Pinto’s case: (1) To begin on folio 2v rather than 1v suggests that the first (vocal) piece was already in place (2) The sequence from no. 8 to no. 12 (ff. 8v-11r) incorporates two textless Italian madrigals which might serve as ‘instrumental’ items as in other contemporary manuscripts, but both appear to be fillers: Masnelli’s *non vi bastava* (f. 9r) follows the one-page *O vos omnes* by Weelkes and Quintiani’s *Al suo[n] d’amata* is squeezed after Wilbye’s *O wretched man* (which ends on the first stave of f. 10r in all three extant books), so the Wilbye must have already been copied. The three parts of William Simmes’s *Arise, arise* (ff. 16v-18r) fill the extended gap between nos. 17 and 19, as does Tomkins’s *Lord, let me know mine end* on ff. 23v-25r between nos. 23 and 25, suggesting both of these were part of the original plan. Milton’s one-page fantasia (no. 41) enabled Ward’s *Cor mio* to go on the next page.<sup>38</sup> The same happens with Coprario’s two fantasias nos.

<sup>37</sup> But he believes no. 4 (a6) initiates the first group. Nos. 8, 10, 12, 14 are also a6.

<sup>38</sup> Incidentally, its absence from the ‘leather books’ suggests that the scribe identified it as a madrigal.

52 and 53. It is interesting to find another early source attributing *Alte Parole* to Joseph rather than to Thomas Lupo.<sup>39</sup>

Four of Dering's five-part fantasias occur in the Blossom books, but are a notable omission from Myriell's extant collections. This renews questions about the composer's movements and associations between about 1610 and 1625. He supplicated for the BMus degree at Oxford in 1610. In 1612 a letter from Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador in Venice, to Sir John Harrington, indicates that a 'Mr Dearing', servant to Harrington, had been in Venice and was now in Rome and seemed likely to become a Catholic.<sup>40</sup> The likelihood that this is the composer is strengthened by the appearance of Dering's *And the King was moved* in Myriell's books, for surely this was another elegy on the death of Henry, Prince of Wales, one of many which Myriell had collected. Maybe it was written at Harrington's behest, since he had been the prince's tutor. Myriell had no less than three copies of it and the only other known is in US-Ws, V.a.412, a manuscript owned by Benjamin Cosyn, associated with Myriell through his acquisition of Och 44. Myriell also copied Dering's *Country Cries*, but not his *City Cries* where he preferred Gibbons's version. Maybe these pieces (and those by Weelkes) were all written in friendly emulation in the early part of James I's reign. The pseudo-Welsh opening of *Country Cries* is odd and Peter Platt has remarked that reference to 'Master Courtnall, the King's cart-taker' assigns the piece to James I's reign.<sup>41</sup> The Harrington connection suggests that Dering probably had some opportunity for mixing with court musicians and the consorts too seem likely to have been written before he left for the continent. Most of the five-part fantasias appear in Tregian's GB-Lbl, Egerton 3665, including the four found in the Blossom books. Whether Dering's conversion to Catholicism opened pathways to Tregian rather than Myriell we shall never know, but the omission seems more likely to be due to circumstance rather than taste.

In turning now to GB-Och, Mus. 423-8 we arrive at a manuscript which came into the hands of John Browne (1608-1691), Clerk of the Parliaments.<sup>42</sup> Browne's part in copying his manuscripts, assisted by at least five scribes, has been well-documented, but that work appears to have taken place no earlier than from about 1630, by which time he had come of age. Mus. 423-8 is unique in the collection because it was begun by an unknown hand before the other copyists had input and shows possible links with London manuscripts extant some ten or fifteen years earlier. In a forthcoming article David Pinto explores Browne's contribution to some collections of vocal music and draws renewed attention to the *milieu* of his father, uncle and associates in the

---

<sup>39</sup> As GB-Och, Mus. 67 and presumably the associated 'leather books'.

<sup>40</sup> GB-Lpro, SP 99, x, 62.

<sup>41</sup> *New Grove*. Dering.

<sup>42</sup> Andrew Ashbee: 'Instrumental music from the library of John Browne (1608-91), Clerk of the Parliaments', *ML* 58 (1977), 43-59; Nigel Fortune and Iain Fenlon: 'Music manuscripts of John Browne (1608-91) and from Stanford Hall, Leicestershire', in *Source materials and the interpretation of music: a memorial volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London, 1981), 155-168; 'Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger: Consort Music in Five and Six Parts', *Musica Britannica* 81, ed. Christopher D. S. Field and David Pinto, (London, 2003).

mercantile life of London.<sup>43</sup> Pinto shows that similar music collections were made for two households, both involving the youthful Browne as copyist. This might help explain a conundrum in 423-8, where the binding incorporates fragments of parts, apparently without fault, of music fully copied in the partbooks. All but one are in the hand of the original scribe, and it may be that through the death of a relation or acquaintance Browne inherited two similar sets and decided to keep just one. The exception is in Browne's own hand.<sup>44</sup> Evidently the 'original' scribe ['O'] was still active when Browne and his associates took up the work, but his initial contributions may have begun earlier. The sections all open with groups of fantasias by a single composer: Lupo in three parts, Lupo, then Coprario in four parts, Lupo in five parts and William White and Ward in six parts. Scribes 'C' and 'D' completed work by 'O' at the end of the three- and four-part sections. Both the five-part and six-part sections drift into miscellaneous sequences suggesting piecemeal acquisition. The Milton pieces indicate the source is not far from the St Paul's/Myriell's/Merchant Taylors' circle(s). Of particular interest is the In Nomine by 'Ives' (No. 21 a5). Baptized at Ware on 20 July 1600, in early life Ives may have been attached to the household of the Fanshawe family who lived there. By about 1626 he was in Earls Colne, Essex, where his son Simon was born and he had moved to London by about 1630. This In Nomine seems likely to have been an early work. In later years it was attributed to John Ward (in GB-Ob, Mus. Sch. MSS C.64-9 and I-Dm, Z3.4.1-6), but on the evidence of these earlier sources Ives is more likely to have been the composer.

Scribe 'O's contribution to GB-Och, Mus. 423-8

No.	Composer	VdGS No. (Fantasias unless otherwise noted)	Remarks
<b>Three-part</b>			
1-10	Lupo	2,3,10-12,4,22,25,7,8,24	Same sequence in GB-Lbl, Add. 29427
11-12	Lupo	9,6	Completed by scribe 'C' [parts II,III]
<b>Four-part</b>			
1-7	Lupo	5-7,1,2,8,3	Same sequence in GB-Ob Tenbury 302
8-13	Coprario	17-22	
			No. 14 (by 'T.C.') copied by scribe 'C'
15-17	Ferrabosco II	7,9,8	Part II of Nos. 16-17 copied by scribe 'D'
<b>Five-part</b>			
1-8	Lupo	1,3,4,2,11-14	Same sequence in GB-Och, Mus. 716-720
9-11	Milton	1-3	Unique to this source
12-13	Ferrabosco II	In Nomines 1-2	
14	Ferrabosco I	In Nomine 1	

<sup>43</sup> David Pinto, 'Pious pleasures in Early Stuart London', *RMARC* (forthcoming). I am very grateful to him for a preview of the article.

<sup>44</sup> No. 28 a4; the fragments by 'O' are from nos. 1 and 13 a4 and 1 and 2 a6.

15	Cranford	[none]	
16	Coleman	[none]	
17	Deering	1	
18	Ward	12: <i>Cor Mio</i>	
19	Coprario	34	
20	Deering	2	
21	Ives	In Nomine [none]	attrib. Ward: Ob, Mus. Sch. C.64-9 and Z.3.4.1-6
22	W. White	1	
23	'Morley'	2: Sacred Ende pavan	<i>recte</i> Weelkes
<b>Six-part</b>			
1 [a-b]	W. White	Pavans 1-2	
2-5	W. White	4,3,1,2	Same sequence in [later] GB-Ob, Mus. Sch. C.64-9
6-11	Ward	2,3,6,7,4,5	
12-13	Ward	In Nomines 1-2	
14-15	P. Philips	21: pavan	
16-19	Peerson	Fantasias 1-4	
20	Coprario	2	
21	Milton	In Nomine [none]	Unique to this source
22	Milton	[none]	Unique to this source
			23-26 copied by Browne
27	Ferrabosco II	2	426 only copied by 'O'; rest copied by Browne; same piece as no. 31
28-29	Ward	2,7	Same pieces as nos. 6, 9
30	Lupo	8	427 copied by scribe 'D'
31	Ferrabosco II	2	428 copied by Browne

GB-Och, Mus. 716-20 has always been a difficult source to place. Work by Browne's copyist 'C' links it with him. Robert Thompson's investigations for volume two of *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music* (Aldershot, forthcoming) have illuminated some features. He writes: 'The earliest material appears to be the fourth section, containing five-part music by Lupo, White and other composers; this section consisted of a single large gathering with its own internal pagination, and the first page of this section in each partbook is discoloured, as though it was the outermost page for some years (the corresponding back pages have been removed). The title pages of each partbook clearly anticipate the inclusion of additional six- rather than four-part music.'<sup>45</sup> As mentioned above the eight Lupo fantasias adopt the same sequence as in Och, Mus. 423-8. They are followed by six fantasias by the elusive William Simmes, unique to this source. Simmes may have been the musician employed by Thomas, Earl of Dorset, in 1608, perhaps at Dorset House in the Strand. Och, Mus. 716-20 also follows Mus. 423-8 in attributing the five-part In Nomine (no. 21) to Ives rather than to Ward. Music by Peerson and East strengthens a likely London provenance. Alto and tenor parts for three four-part fantasias by Jenkins have been added on pages six to eleven by two later hands, one responsible for the alto in 717 and the other for

<sup>45</sup> e.g. 'Bassus Secundus a 5 & 6 partes'.

the tenor in 719. The latter hand might be Benjamin Cosyn's, since it closely resembles his work in US-Ws, V.a.412.<sup>46</sup>

Browne's copyist 'C' has not been identified and he contributed relatively little to Browne's manuscripts: an organ part to Coprario's three-part fantasia (VdGS 10) in GB-Ck 113A, tenor and bass parts to Lupo's three part fantasias VdGS 9 and 2 and a four-part fantasia by 'T C' in GB-Och, 423-8, two anonymous tablature airs in GB-Lam, MS 600 and the four four-part fantasias by Lupo (VdGS 9-12) which now open GB-Och, 716-20. His largest contribution is in GB-Och, Mus. 379-81 where three-part airs nos. 38-66 are copied by him, with Browne adding some titles. These comprise works by John Cobb (2), Cormack McDermot (1), W[illiam] D[rewe] (9) and C[hables] C[oleman] (17). Browne owned property at Twickenham and the Drewe family were nearby at Chertsey, while Coleman is believed to have been associated with Prince Charles's household at Richmond. Cobb was musician to Archbishop William Laud. Whether the link is due to Browne alone is uncertain, but it is clear that court musicians/composers feature strongly in 'C's work, especially those in the Twickenham area. 'C's habit of supplying initials rather than names has caused speculation regarding the identity of 'T C'.<sup>47</sup> The only relevant musician known to me with those initials is Timothy Collins, lutenist at court between 1618 and 1642 and thus a companion in 'The Lutes and Voices' of John Drewe, William's brother. The piece is very competently written and is certainly not the work of an amateur.

The whole Jacobean era is difficult to quantify regarding the composition and distribution of consorts. The decades immediately before and after 1600 saw the most copying of Italian madrigals from the printed collections and also of English versions from *Musica Transalpina* and *Italian Madrigals Englished*. Thereafter they declined gradually, but were not extinguished until the advent of the Civil War. Consorts seem slow to emerge alongside them, but their paucity here is probably due more to a dearth of sources, in particular the loss of any Court music archive, than to any other factor. The works of Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger, Thomas Lupo and John Coprario are the mainstay of what remains. Both Lupo and Coprario produced works ambiguous to us regarding their vocal or instrumental origins and which sit happily among the genuine Italian madrigals.<sup>48</sup> Ward too contributed further examples. No doubt the prevalence of five-part consorts and the turn to a two-treble, alto, tenor and bass scoring also reflect madrigalian practice.

Whether or not the three great manuscripts GB-Lbl, Egerton 3665, US-NYp, Drexel 4302 and GB-Cfm, Music MS 168 are the work of Francis Tregian (d.1617) alone, or of a team, there is no denying that they show the scribe(s) had ready connections with the output of Jacobean Court musicians.

---

<sup>46</sup> A facsimile from the Washington MS appears in Richard Charteris, *An Annotated Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.*, (New York 2005), 213 and of the Christ Church one in *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, II (Aldershot, forthcoming).

<sup>47</sup> Andrew Ashbee: 'Instrumental music from the library of John Browne ...', 51-2.

<sup>48</sup> See David Pinto, 'The Fantasy Manner: the seventeenth-century context', *Chevy*, 10 (1981), 17-28, especially 24-28.

Egerton 3665 incorporates the bulk of their known five-part consort repertory as well as the popular four-part fantasias by Ferrabosco the younger:

Ferrabosco II:	fantasias <i>a</i> 4 (19 of 21)
Coprario:	fantasias <i>a</i> 5 (46 of 50)
Lupo:	fantasias <i>a</i> 5 (21 of 32)
Ferrabosco II:	In Nomines <i>a</i> 5 (2 of 3)
Ferrabosco II:	Pavans <i>a</i> 5 (8 of 9)
Ferrabosco II:	Almains <i>a</i> 5 (3 of 11)
Augustine Bassano:	Pavans/Galliards (5 of 5)

To these may be added two others employed by courtiers:

Dering:	fantasias <i>a</i> 5: (7 of 8)
Ward	fantasias <i>a</i> 5: (12 of 13)

And Michael East's 1610 fantasia publication (8 of 8).

No other contemporary collection comes close to this in its comprehensiveness. Maybe there is an element of 'stamp-collecting' in these massive undertakings – for which we are eternally grateful.

As Monson points out, Myriell's circle collects music of a different kind, focussing on the viol-and-voice repertory. Nevertheless, pure consorts play their part too with a fairly even spread between the scorings: three-part (18), four-part (20), five-part (29) and six-part (13). Coprario, Ferrabosco, Lupo and William White are all represented, as is Ward. The latter seems to have been known to Myriell, and Milton and East are also 'local'. Manuscript copies of pieces from East's 1610 publication were made by Tregian, Barnard, L'Estrange, and the scribe of Och, Mus. 716-20. The five-part scoring seems to have encouraged this, for virtually no manuscript copies are known of other printed instrumental pieces

In conclusion the contents of ensuing manuscripts show links with the repertory explored here. GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 40657-61, partbooks belonging to Sir Henry Shirley (d. 1632/3), seem to have been copied in part by one of the scribes who wrote the Ellesmere partbooks. Italian madrigals, though diminished in number, feature in Shirley's books and in those belonging to Sir Christopher Hatton III. Hatton's mother was Alice née Fanshawe, daughter of Sir Henry Fanshawe, Prince Henry's favourite who was well versed in all things Italianate. On the other hand none are found in L'Estrange's surviving manuscripts.

Probably sometime in the 1620s John Barnard emerges as a collector (and possibly copyist) of consort music. No less than 126 pieces from his 'score book' were checked and sometimes copied by Sir Nicholas L'Estrange when making his own collections. After a few years at Canterbury Barnard was admitted as minor canon at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on 5 July 1623. It is unfortunate that so little documentation of the pre-Commonwealth musicians at St. Paul's has survived and attempts to identify copyists of important manuscripts are thereby frustrated. Much attention has been paid to GB-Ob, Tenbury 302 and the two sets of partbooks at Washington: US-Wc,

M990.C66.F4.<sup>49</sup> Pamela Willetts has concluded that the Washington books were at least owned by Barnard and that the remnants of a score book (now Tenbury 302) may have been the same used by Nicholas L'Estrange as noted above. No confirmation is possible because the extant Tenbury pages contain none of the music copied by L'Estrange, but Dodd notes that the mis-attribution of two fantasias by East to Coprario in the Washington books is transferred to L'Estrange's GB-Lcm, MS 1145. Nor are the mis-named fantasias in the Washington books relevant because L'Estrange's correct titles had already been taken from Pettus (in GB-Lcm, MS 1145) and some from Harman (in GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 39550-4). The sixteen Coprario fantasias in 39550-4 (copied by scribe 'B') are all found in the Washington books, but only fourteen of the 37 Coprario/East pieces in 1145 (nine by scribe 'A' and five by scribe 'B') occur there. A curious omission from L'Estrange's collections is the five-part set of fantasias by Lupo, so perhaps they were in another set of books, now lost. Fifteen of them are in set two of the Washington books. We cannot know how much of the L'Estrange music library has come down to us, nor precise details of how and when it was made.<sup>50</sup> The dominant part Sir Nicholas clearly played in compiling the extant consort manuscripts may have blurred our vision, for surely we should assume that their use was shared with Nicholas's father, Sir Hamon (c.1583-1654), and the rest of the L'Estranges in the house. Indeed, were they begun under the auspices of Sir Hamon and later taken up by Sir Nicholas? There is clear evidence in the household accounts that viols were active at Hunstanton from at least 1611 onwards.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Gordon Dodd, 'The Coperario-Lupo Five-part Books at Washington', *Chelys*, 1 (1969), 36-40; Pamela J. Willetts, 'John Barnard's Collections of Viol and Vocal Music', *Chelys*, 20 (1991), 28-42.

<sup>50</sup> Most of what we have came from Charles Burney, at one time organist at Lynn. The descent was from Sir Nicholas (d.1655) via Sir Nicholas, 3<sup>rd</sup> Bart. (d.1669), Sir Nicholas, 4<sup>th</sup> Bart. (d.1724), Sir Henry, 6<sup>th</sup> Bart (d.1662), to his nephew Nicholas Styleman of Snettisham, son of Armine, Sir Henry's sister. The collections were British Library, Add. 39550-4 and Royal College of Music, MSS 921 and 1145, all of which were in the sale of Burney's music library on 8-15 August 1814. For subsequent ownership of these and other L'Estrange music manuscripts (not known to have come through Burney's hands), see Pamela J. Willetts, 'Sir Nicholas L'Estrange and John Jenkins'. Jenkins played no part in the copying or collating of the two consort collections. Burney also owned British Library, Add. MSS 10444 and 10445; part of 10444 is in Sir Nicholas L'Estrange's hand.

<sup>51</sup> These are fully documented in Andrew Ashbee, 'My Fiddle is a Bass Viol': Music in the life of Sir Roger L'Estrange', in *Sir Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture*, eds. Beth Lynch and Anne Dunan Page (Aldershot, forthcoming).

# Continuity and Change in English Bass Viol Music: The Case of Fitzwilliam MU. MS 647

PETER HOLMAN

When did the viola gamba pass out of use? It is clear that the instrument was cultivated in France until at least the 1740s – as the music written for it by Forqueray, Caix d'Hervelois, Rameau and Louis-Gabriel Guillemain shows<sup>1</sup> – and in Germany and Austria until at least the end of the eighteenth century: Franz Xaver Hammer (1741-1817) and Joseph Fiala (1748-1816) are two examples of German-speaking gamba players and composers who lived into the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> It used to be thought that the viol dropped out of use in Italy early in the seventeenth century, but recent research has shown that a number of Italian eighteenth-century violin makers made gambas, including Giuseppe Guarneri, father of 'del Gesù', Giovanni Grancino, Francesco and Vincenzo Rugeri, Gennaro and Giuseppe Gagliano, Matteo Gofriller and Antonio Stradivari.<sup>3</sup> Also, there were gamba players in several northern Italian cities in the early eighteenth century, including Venice: Michael Talbot and Vittorio Ghielmi have argued that the *viola all'inglese* and the *violoncello all'inglese*, taught, played and written for by Vivaldi, were ordinary members of the viol family.<sup>4</sup>

The situation is rather more complex in England. England was the centre of viol playing in the seventeenth century, but it seems that composing for, and performing on, complete consorts of viols came to an end there in the 1670s. Roger North, who knew Henry Purcell well, stated that Matthew Locke's Consort of Four Parts, probably written in the 1660s, was 'worthy to bring up the 'rere, after which wee are to expect no more of that style'.<sup>5</sup> This suggests that Purcell's

---

<sup>1</sup> For overviews of the French eighteenth-century repertory, see H. Bol, *La basse de viole du temps de Marin Marais et d'Antoine Forqueray* (Bilthoven, 1973); J.A. Sadie, *The Bass Viol in French Baroque Chamber Music* (Ann Arbor, 1980).

<sup>2</sup> For the German eighteenth-century repertory, see F. Flassig, *Die soloistische Gambenmusik in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1998); M. O'Loughlin, 'The Viola da Gamba Music of the Berlin School, 1732-1772', Ph.D. thesis (University of Queensland, 2002); D.J. Rhodes, 'The Viola da Gamba, its Repertory and Practitioners in the late Eighteenth Century', *Cheyls*, 31 (2003), 36-63.

<sup>3</sup> For Italian gamba makers, see esp. C. Chiesa, 'The Viola da Gamba in Cremona', *The Italian Viola da Gamba: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Italian Viola da Gamba, Magnano, Italy, 29 April-1 May 2000*, ed. S. Orlando (Solignac, 2002), 87-96; T.G. MacCracken, 'Italian Instruments in a List of Extant Viols Made before 1900', *The Italian Viola da Gamba*, ed. Orlando, 127-144; M. Herzog, 'Stradivari's Viols', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 57 (2004), 183-194.

<sup>4</sup> V. Ghielmi, 'An Eighteenth-Century Italian Treatise and other Clues to the History of the Viola da Gamba in Italy', *The Italian Viola da Gamba*, ed. Orlando, 73-86; M. Talbot, 'Vivaldi and the English Viol', *Early Music*, 30 (2002), 381-394. For an alternative argument, that the *violoncello inglese* was related to the viola d'amore and had sympathetic strings, see B. Hoffmann, 'Il violoncello all'inglese', *Studi Vivaldiani*, 4 (2004), 43-51.

<sup>5</sup> *Roger North on Music*, ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959), 301; see also *ibid.*, 349. The Consort of Four Parts is edited in M. Locke, *Chamber Music: II*, ed. M. Tilmouth, *Musica Britannica*, 32 (London, 1972), 57-97.



fantasias, mostly composed in the summer of 1680, were not written for an active viol consort; I have argued that they were actually advanced composition exercises, and that most of them may never have been performed at all.<sup>6</sup> Copyists continued to transcribe portions of the English consort repertory a little later than that, though they probably did so to preserve it rather than to perform it – or in some cases, perhaps, to play it on violins.<sup>7</sup>

Of course, the bass member of the viol family continued in use as a continuo, obbligato and solo instrument. More research needs to be done into its role as a continuo instrument, but it seems likely that it was superseded by the violoncello in the first decade of the eighteenth century, at least in elite musical circles in London. Nicola Haym, who arrived from Italy in the winter of 1700-1, seems to have been the first person to play the violoncello in England – as opposed to the larger bass violin, which had been used as the bass of violin consorts since the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> He was soon followed by others, including Pippo Amadei, François or Francisco Goodsens, and Giovanni Schiavonetti or Zanetti.<sup>9</sup> A survey of Walsh publications shows that ‘viol’ was last specified as a continuo instrument in 1704 (for a reprint of a Corelli trio sonata); after that the words used are ‘bass violin’, ‘violono basso’ or ‘violoncello’.<sup>10</sup>

This does not mean that the bass viol ceased to be used at that point in England. There were still a sizeable number of native English players, including professionals such as William Gorton (d. 1711), Christian Leopold Steffkins (d. 1714), and Henry Eccles (d. c.1735),<sup>11</sup> and amateurs such as Thomas Britton (d.

---

<sup>6</sup> P. Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford, 1994), 75-76.

<sup>7</sup> On this point, see esp. R. Thompson, ‘Some Late Sources of Music by John Jenkins’, *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 271-307.

<sup>8</sup> For the violoncello in England, see L. Lindgren, ‘Italian Violoncellists and some Violoncello Solos Published in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. D.W. Jones (Aldershot, 2000), 121-157. For Haym, see esp. L. Lindgren, ‘The Accomplishments of the Learned and Ingenious Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)’, *Studi musicali*, 16 (1987), 247-380; id., ‘Italian Violoncellists’, 137-138; and the introductions to N.F. Haym, *Complete Sonatas*, ed. Lindgren, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era*, 116, 117 (Middleton WI, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> For Amadei, see *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800* [BDA], 16 vols., ed. P.H. Highfill jr., K.A. Burnim and E.A. Langhans (Carbondale and Edwardsville IL, 1973-1993), i. 68-69; Lindgren, ‘Italian Violoncellists’, 140; id., ‘Filippo Amadei [Pippo del Violoncello]’, *Grove Music Online* [GMO], ed. L. Macy (<http://www.grovemusic.com>, accessed 15 June 2007). For Goodsens, see BDA, vi. 266-267; *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714* [BDECM], 2 vols., comp. A. Ashbee and D. Lasocki (Aldershot, 1998), i. 495-496; Lindgren, ‘Italian Violoncellists’, 138. For Schiavonetti, see BDA, xiii. 227-228; Lindgren, ‘Italian Violoncellists’, 139.

<sup>10</sup> W.C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695-1720* ([Oxford], 1948); R.L. Hardie, ‘“Curiously Fitted and Contriv’d”: Production Strategies employed by John Walsh from 1695 to 1712, with a Descriptive Catalogue of his Instrumental Publications’, Ph.D. thesis (U. of Western Ontario, 2000).

<sup>11</sup> For Gorton, see BDECM, i. 497; A. Ashbee, ‘William Gorton’, *GMO* (accessed 15 June 2007). For Steffkins, see BDECM, ii. 1048-1049; C.D.S. Field, ‘Theodore [Dietrich] Steffkin [Steffkins, Steffkins, Steffkin, Stephkins] [Ditrich Stoeffken]’, *GMO* (accessed 15 June 2007). For Eccles, see BDECM, i. 374; M. Laurie, ‘Eccles (5) Henry Eccles (ii)’, *GMO* (accessed 15 June 2007).

1714), Daniel Defoe (d. 1731), John Gostling (d. 1733), Roger North (d. 1734), James Sherard (d. 1738), and Thomas Shuttleworth (d. after 1738).<sup>12</sup> In addition, a number of immigrant musicians also seem to have played the bass viol as an alternative to their main instruments in London in the second or third decade of the eighteenth century. They include the cellists Pippo Amadei, Giovanni Bononcini, and Fortunato Chelleri, the flautist and bassoonist Pietro Chaboud, and the double bass player David Boswillibald.<sup>13</sup> What happened is that the bass viol changed role in England in the early eighteenth century. It was no longer used in viol consorts or to play bass lines. Instead, it became a solo or obbligato instrument, written in the alto or tenor range. At the same time, there was a change of nomenclature: in elite musical circles the instrument became known as ‘viola da gamba’ – or some Anglicised variant such as ‘viol di gambo’. The term ‘bass viol’ remained in use, but was increasingly confined to vernacular musical milieux, such as parish church music. In eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America – and probably in Britain as well – it was used to describe some sort of four-string violoncello or bass violin rather than the six- or seven-string gamba.<sup>14</sup>

The other change was to the notation of gamba music. Although solo gamba music continued to be written in a mixture of alto and bass clefs, as it had been in the seventeenth century, the octave-transposing treble clef was also used from the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was probably adopted so that players could read violin music without having to arrange it or write it out, though it seems to have been borrowed from English Restoration vocal music. John Playford pioneered the use of octave-transposing treble clefs in his song collections, and wrote in his *Cantica sacra* (London, 1674) that music in the treble clef ‘may properly

---

<sup>12</sup> For Britton, see C. Price, ‘The Small-Coal Cult’, *The Musical Times*, 119 (1978), 1032–1034; J.C. Kasser, ‘Thomas Britton: Musician and Magician?’, *Musicology*, 7 (1982), 67–72; M. Tilmouth and S. McVeigh, ‘Thomas Britton’, *GMo* (accessed 15 June 2007); D.A. Reid, ‘Thomas Britton’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [ODNB], ed. L. Goldman (<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com>, accessed 15 June 2007). For Defoe as a viol player, see E. Gibson, *The Royal Academy of Music 1719–1728: the Institution and its Directors* (New York and London, 1989), 388–389. For Gostling, see *BDECM*, i. 499–501; W. Shaw and R. Ford, ‘John Gostling’, *GMo* (accessed 15 June 2007); O. Baldwin and T. Wilson, ‘John Gostling’, *ODNB* (accessed 15 June 2007). For Roger North, see esp. F.J.M. Korsten, *Roger North (1651–1734), Virtuoso and Essayist* (Amsterdam and Maarssen, 1981); J.C. Kasser, ‘Roger North’, *GMo* (accessed 15 June 2007); M. Chan, ‘Roger North’, *ODNB* (accessed 15 June 2007). For Sherard, see M. Tilmouth, ‘James Sherard, an English Amateur Composer’, *Music & Letters*, 47 (1966), 313–322; Tilmouth and R. Thompson, ‘James [Giacomo] Sherard [Sharwood]’, *GMo* (accessed 15 June 2007); W.W. Webb, rev. S. Mandelbrote, ‘James Sherard’, *ODNB* (accessed 15 June 2007). For Shuttleworth, see J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776; 2/1853; repr. 1963), ii. 675, 826; P. Holman, ‘Obadiah Shuttleworth’, *GMo* (accessed 19 October 2007).

<sup>13</sup> For the evidence of their viol-playing activities, see J.A. Sadie, ‘Handel: in Pursuit of the Viol’, *Chelys*, 14 (1985), 3–24; P. Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (forthcoming).

<sup>14</sup> For America, see in particular S.R. Ogden, ‘Abraham Prescott and his Bass Viols’, *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 12 (1975), 74–77; F.R. Selch, ‘Some Moravian Makers of Bowed Stringed Instruments’, *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, 19 (1993), 38–64; ‘Bass Viol’, *GMo* (accessed 15 June 2007). I will deal with the identity of ‘bass viols’ in English parish church music in *Life after Death*.

be Sung by Men as well as Boyes or Weomen'.<sup>15</sup> England was in advance of other countries in this respect, and in applying it to instrumental music. To my knowledge, the earliest use of the octave-transposing treble clef for idiomatic gamba music is in the Walsh publication *Aires & Symphonys for y<sup>e</sup> Bass Viol* (London, 1710), where it is used for some solo arrangements of Italian opera arias and some simple Italianate dances.<sup>16</sup> However, the practice of using it to read tunes borrowed from other genres was established at least a decade earlier. John Hare's publication *The Compleat Violist* (London, 1699) has groups of psalm tunes and popular dances printed in the treble clef, and its introduction states that the 'Gsolreut Cliff' is 'proper for the Treble Viol, or to play Aires or Tunes of songs on the [bass] Viol'.<sup>17</sup> Carl Friedrich Abel and other late eighteenth-century composers used the octave-transposing treble clef for their gamba music, and it was applied to violoncello music from the 1760s.<sup>18</sup>

An obvious way of estimating the amount of gamba playing that was going on in early eighteenth-century England is to survey the surviving repertory. It divides into two main groups. One is associated with the immigrant professional players in London, and includes: *Aires & Symphonys for y<sup>e</sup> Bass Viol*, a set of gamba arrangements of Corelli's op. 5 violin sonatas (two of which were published in London around 1712);<sup>19</sup> Pepusch's chamber works with obbligato gamba parts, including three trio sonatas with flute or recorder, two with violin, and one for two violins, gamba and continuo;<sup>20</sup> a set of English arrangements of cantatas by Francesco Gasparini and the Roman organist Tommaso Bernardo Gaffi, with the obbligato parts arranged for gamba;<sup>21</sup> a gamba sonata and a cantata for soprano,

<sup>15</sup> Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 48.

<sup>16</sup> See *Recueils imprimés, XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. F. Lesure, *Répertoire internationale des sources musicales* [RISM] B/II (Munich and Duisburg, 1964), 77; Smith, *A Bibliography of ... John Walsh ... 1695-1720*, 114, no. 378; Hardie, "'Curiously Fitted and Contriv'd'", 355, no. 91.

<sup>17</sup> See *Écrits imprimés concernant la musique*, ed. F. Lesure, 2 vols., RISM B/VI, i. 404-405; R.A. Harman, *A Catalogue of the Printed Music and Books on Music in Durham Cathedral Library* (London, 1968), 84-85. It includes some pieces 'by ye late famous Master Mr. Benjamin Hely', though this does not necessarily mean, as is implied by RISM and Harman, that he was responsible for the whole publication. It was advertised in *The London Gazette* on 20 April 1699, see M. Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 1 (1961), 28.

<sup>18</sup> On this point, see V. Walden, *One Hundred Years of Violoncello: a History of Technique and Performance Practice, 1740-1840* (Cambridge, 1998), 74-78.

<sup>19</sup> Facsimile edition: A. Corelli, *Sonatas for Viol and Basso Continuo*, Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, MS VM<sup>7</sup> 6308, ed. H. Miloradovitch (Peer, 1989); see also Miloradovitch, 'Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Transcriptions for Viols of Music by Corelli and Marais in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Sonatas and Pièces de Viol', *Chelys*, 12 (1983), 47-57. For the London edition, see *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, ed. K. Schlager et al., 15 vols., RISM A/I (Kassel, 1971-2003), ii. 213, C 3842; modern edition: A. Corelli, *Sonatas op. 5, nos. 11 and 6, Transcribed and Adapted c.1713 for Solo Bass Viol and Continuo*, ed. G. Dodd, Viola da Gamba Society, Supplementary Publications, 136 ([London], 1980).

<sup>20</sup> The best list is in D.F. Cook, 'The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752), with Special Reference to his Dramatic Works and Cantatas', Ph.D. thesis (King's College, University of London, 1982), ii. 95, 96, 98, 99, 104, nos. 2:021, 2:023, 2:027, 2:029, 2:030, 2:040.

<sup>21</sup> GB-Cfm, MU. MS 46. It is the work of an individual who copied at least eleven volumes of Italian music in early eighteenth-century England, see the introduction to *Cantatas by Giovanni*

two gambas and theorbo by the harpsichordist Pietro Giuseppe Sandoni,<sup>22</sup> and, of course, Handel's two gamba parts from about 1724. A viola da gamba is in the on-stage band in the Parnassus scene, Act II, Scene 2, of *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (1724),<sup>23</sup> and Handel authorised a gamba version of the violin sonata in G minor HWV364 by writing out the first bar of the solo part an octave lower in the alto clef, labelling it 'Per la Viola da Gamba'.<sup>24</sup> He presumably intended it to serve as an instruction for a copyist to write out the whole piece in that form.

The other group of gamba sources is connected with, and derived from, the traditional English repertory of divisions on a ground. Several of them, such as GB-Lcm, C41/1, and GB-Ob, Printed Book, Mus. 184.c.8, are bound in with copies of one of the editions of Christopher Simpson's *Division-Violist*. Others, such as GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, and GB-Cfm, MU. MS 647, are stand-alone manuscripts but are also concerned largely with the division repertory, at least in their early layers. The practice of playing or improvising divisions on a ground was still current in the early eighteenth century, as is shown by the publication of *Chelys / The Division-Viol* (London, 1712), a third edition of Simpson's treatise, though all these manuscripts show a gradual move from divisions (and original gamba music in general) towards arrangements, particularly of violin music.<sup>25</sup>

What a study of these manuscripts reveals is that they were in use rather longer than has been thought. GB-Lcm, C41/1 is bound with a copy of *The Division-Violist* of 1659.<sup>26</sup> It was probably started soon after, and the first section contains divisions from the early seventeenth century, including pieces by Henry Butler and Daniel Norcombe. However, the manuscript also contains violin and recorder grounds apparently taken from publications from around 1700, including one by Gottfried Finger, published in 1701,<sup>27</sup> and another by Johann Gottfried Keller

---

Bononcini 1670-1747, ed. L. Lindgren, *The Italian Cantata in the Seventeenth Century*, 10 (New York and London, 1985); C. Timms, 'The Dissemination of Staffani's Operas', *Relazioni musicali tra Italia e Germania nell'età barocca / Deutsch-italienische Beziehungen in der Musik des Barock*, ed. A. Colzani, N. Dubowy, A. Luppi and M. Padoan (Como, 1997), 325-349, at 336, 349. See also a handout, 'Italian Cantata MSS in London, Conjecturally Copied 1697-1706', compiled by Lowell Lindgren for a paper given at the seventh Biennial Conference on Baroque Music, Birmingham, 4-7 July 1996.

<sup>22</sup> See P. Holman, 'A New Source of Bass Viol Music from Eighteenth-Century England', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), 81-99, at 88-89.

<sup>23</sup> For discussions of the role of the gamba in this piece, see Sadie, 'Handel: in Pursuit of the Viol', 16-19; R.J. King, 'Handel and the Viola da Gamba', *A Viola da Gamba Miscellanea*, ed. S. Orlando (Limoges, 2005), 62-79, at 70-71; Holman, *Life after Death*.

<sup>24</sup> See in particular T. Best, 'Handel's Chamber Music: Sources, Chronology and Authenticity', *Early Music*, 13 (1985), 476-499, at 479, 485; King, 'Handel and the Viola da Gamba', 71-72. A modern edition arranged for gamba is G.F. Handel, *Sonata in G minor*, ed. T. Dart (London, 1950).

<sup>25</sup> For editions of Simpson, see RISM B/VI, ii. 785-786.

<sup>26</sup> Formerly II.F.10(2). There is a nearly complete edition as *19 Divisions for Bass Viol by Simpson, Norcombe, Young etc. and Eight Divisions for a Treble Instrument by Banister, Keller and Finger, and Arias and Ritornelli by Carlo Pallavicino*, 2 vols., ed. S. Heinrich (Oxford, 2001).

<sup>27</sup> The F major ground, ff. 39v-40, is no. 10 of Finger's *Dix sonates à 1 flute & 1 basse continue*, op. 3 (Amsterdam, 1701), and *The Second Part of the Division Flute* (London, 1708), no. 1. For the date of Finger's op. 3, see F. Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel*

published in 1702.<sup>28</sup> One of these copyists may have been a wind player rather than a viol player, but there is more gamba music later in the sequence, including pieces from John Moss's *Lessons for the Bass Viol* (London, 1671),<sup>29</sup> suggesting that music from that collection was still being used by a viol player in the early eighteenth century.

GB-Ob, Printed Book, Mus. 184.c.8 seems to have been used by gamba players over an even longer period.<sup>30</sup> It too is bound with a copy of the 1659 *Division-Violist*, and was owned in 1660 by the ecclesiastical scholar and collector John Covel or Colville (1638-1722), a fellow and eventual master of Christ's College, Cambridge.<sup>31</sup> The main part of the manuscript was copied soon after, and includes pieces by John Jenkins (three of them autograph), and Roger L'Estrange. When Covel's library was auctioned in 1724 the book was apparently purchased by one Richard Ramsbotham, who signed and dated it that year. Ramsbotham copied a sequence of music in the treble clef, including 'Six Sonatas for 2 Viols Compos'd by M<sup>r</sup> Christian Schickhardt being his first Opera' (pp. 146R-134R). He was clearly copying violin music (he wrote the labels 'Violino Primo' and 'Violino Secondo' above some of the sonatas), though he may have done so in order to play them on the bass viol using the octave-transposing convention; it is likely that Ramsbotham purchased the book because it was largely a collection of viol music. He was incorrect in thinking that the sonatas came from Johann Christian Schickhardt's op. 1, which is a set of sonatas for recorder and continuo.<sup>32</sup> They do not seem to correspond to any known works by Schickhardt.

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61 is also a late manuscript, but covers a shorter period. According to an inscription on the front cover, it was given (apparently as an empty book) on 4 December 1687 to the Oxford musician and bass viol player Francis Withy (c.1650-1727) by his 'loving Scoller', Henry Knight of Wadham College, Oxford.<sup>33</sup> Withy seems to have finished entering pieces in or shortly after

---

*Charles Le Cène (Amsterdam, 1696-1743)* (Paris, 1969), 41. See also RISM A/I, iii, 50, F 580; *The Division Recorder*, ed. P. Holman (New York, 1977), ii, no. 1; R. Rawson, 'From Omolouc to London: the Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c.1655-1730)', Ph.D. thesis (Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002), ii, 210, 334, no. R1110.

<sup>28</sup> The D major ground, f. 15, is in F major for recorder in *50 Airs Anglois*, i (Amsterdam, 1702), no. 50. For the date, see Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles Le Cène*, 42. See also RISM B/II, 77; *The Division Recorder*, ed. Holman, ii, no. 12.

<sup>29</sup> See RISM A/I, vi, 31, M 3801.

<sup>30</sup> See A. Ashbee, 'Bodleian Library, Printed Book, Mus. 184.c.8 Revisited', *The Viol*, 2 (Spring 2006), 18-21. See also the discussion in id., "'My Fiddle is a Bass Viol': Music in the Life of Sir Roger L'Estrange", *Sir Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture*, ed. B. Lynch and A. Dunan-Page (forthcoming).

<sup>31</sup> For Covel, see E. Leedham-Green, 'John Covel [Colville]', *ODNB* (accessed 16 June 2007).

<sup>32</sup> For Schickhardt's works, see D. Lasocki, 'Johann Christian Schickhardt (c.1682-1762): a Contribution to his Biography and a Catalogue of his Works', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis*, 27 (1977), 28-55.

<sup>33</sup> For the Withy family, see R. Thompson, "'Francis Withie of Oxon" and his Commonplace Book, Christ Church, Oxford, MS 337', *Cheyls*, 20 (1991), 3-27; id., 'Withy', *GMO* (accessed 16 June 2007); *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee, Thompson and J. Wainwright, vol. 2 (forthcoming). The last will contain an inventory of the MS.

1701: the last piece in the main sequence is a transposed version of a recorder sonata by Finger published in that year.<sup>34</sup> The manuscript is labelled 'Divisions for y<sup>e</sup> Bass Violl' and includes pieces from the traditional bass viol repertory, including divisions by Christopher Simpson, Peter Young and Withy himself, though it also includes a good deal of violin and recorder music, including divisions attributed to Nicola Matteis (a spectacular version of *La Folia*), and sonatas by Lelio Colista, Robert King, Finger and fake Corelli – the last probably copied from a collection published by Roger of Amsterdam in 1697.<sup>35</sup> It is possible that Withy played the violin and the recorder, or played with other Oxford musicians who did so, but we cannot discount the possibility that he copied these pieces to provide extra repertory for his bass viol – again using the octave-transposing treble clef convention.

-----

This brings me to GB-Cfm, MU. MS 647, the main subject of this paper. Actually, it is not a single manuscript, but a collection of thirteen separate items, none larger than four leaves or two interleaved bifolia. Today, they are collected together in eight modern bindings, kept in a box, but they seem to have been a loose pile of papers around 1915, when they were transferred to the Fitzwilliam Museum from Magdalene College, Cambridge as part of a collection of early eighteenth-century music prints and manuscripts; for an inventory, see Appendix I. There are a number of different types and sizes of paper, with different stave rulings, and only Items II and III have the same watermark.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, most of the items seem to have been together since they were copied, for the main hand, B, occurs in most of them, and he can be connected with one of the others, Item I, by virtue of the fact that two of the pieces he copied, 'M<sup>r</sup>. Withy's Trumpet Tune' and 'Jigg' (Item II; nos. 8, 10) were also copied by Hand A (Item I; nos. 1, 3), where no. 1 is labelled 'The Trumpet / E Wythie'. It has been suggested that this (and thus the rest of Hand A's work in Item I) is an autograph of Edward Withy, Francis Withy's probable brother.<sup>37</sup> He is recorded as 'gentleman' of Buckland in Berkshire in a document of 1677, and married into the Catholic Eyston family of East Hendred, also in Berkshire; several of the Withy family are known to have been Catholics. I will return to the identity of the main copyist, Hand B, later.

Like the other manuscripts I have been discussing, MU. MS 647 has a mixture of pieces from the traditional viol repertory, arrangements of vocal music, and pieces written for other instruments. What is remarkable, however, is the range of

---

<sup>34</sup> The D major sonata, pp. 50-53, is in F major in Finger, *Dix sonates*, op. 3, no. 8. See Rawson, 'From Omolouc to London', ii. 209, no. R1109.

<sup>35</sup> The D major sonata, pp. 40-43, is in *Sonate à violino solo col basso continuo composta da Arcangelo Corelli* (Amsterdam, 1697), no. 4; see RISM A/I, ii. 214, C 3855; Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles Le Cène*, 36. For other sources, see the modern edition, A. Corelli, *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke*, v: *Werke ohne Opuszahl*, ed. H.J. Marx (Cologne, 1976), 90-95, 120-121.

<sup>36</sup> I am grateful to Robert Thompson for supplying information about the watermarks.

<sup>37</sup> Robert Thompson, personal communication. For Edward Withy, see *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, vol. 2.

material and the long period over which the collection seems to have been copied. At least six distinct types of material can be identified. First, there are a number of pieces from the traditional solo viol repertory, including: Withy's 'Trumpet'; an anonymous battle piece (Item I; no. 4) that may also be by Edward Withy; the 'Skolding Wyfe' (Item III; no. 14), a version of a popular ballet by the French viol player Nicolas Hotman (d. 1663); and several divisions on a ground (Item VII; no. 33; Item VIII; no. 34), including one by Christopher Simpson (Item VIII; no. 35).

Second, there are gamba arrangements of divisions taken from the violin and recorder repertories. They include: the beautiful 'Two in one upon a Ground' for two recorders and continuo from Purcell's *Dioclesian* (1690) (Item I; no. 5), transposed down a tenth with the canonic solo part put in the alto clef; and 'Faronel's Ground' from *The Division Violin* (Item VIII; no. 37), down an octave and also in the alto clef. There are also two divisions in the treble clef: an incomplete version of 'Greensleeves' (Item I; no. 6), not the same as the popular piece from *The Division Violin*; and a shortened version of John Eccles's 'Bellamira, Division on a Ground', first published in 1694 (Item I; no. 7). This presumably means that Item I was copied after then. As before, these treble-clef pieces could have been intended to be read on the viol an octave lower.

The third type, arrangements of dances from suites of incidental theatre music, includes three popular pieces by Henry Purcell: the Fourth Act Tune from *Dioclesian* Z627/24 (Item II; no. 12); an air from *The Fairy Queen* Z629/2a (Item VI; no. 29); and the hornpipe from *The Old Batchelor* Z607/4 (Item VI; no. 30). The presence of Z627/24 probably means that Item II was copied after 1697, since these pieces were mostly disseminated by way of the posthumous collection *Ayres ... for the Theatre*, published in that year. Z627/24 and Z629/2a were transposed down an octave, but Z607/4 was put down a ninth, from E minor to D minor – which suggests that the arranger was not just arranging mechanically, but was thinking of the effect on his instrument.

A fourth type consists of arrangements of violin pieces from the first book of Nicola Matteis's *Ayres for the Violin* (Item IV; nos. 19-27). It is possible that they were taken from the original 1676 edition, but the fact that Hand B also copied the duet version of Matteis's 'Ad Imitatione della Trombetta' (Item XI; no. 63) suggests that the source for all of them was the Walsh reprint, *Senr Nicola's Aires in 3 Parts ... his First and Second Books* (1703), since that was the first appearance in print of the second treble part.<sup>38</sup> If so, this would mean that Items IV and XI were copied after then. Hand B transposed the pieces in Item IV down an octave in the alto clef, but for some reason left 'Ad Imitatione della Trombetta' in the treble clef, transposing it down a tone from D major to C major – suggesting again that

---

<sup>38</sup> Smith, *A Bibliography of ... John Walsh ... 1695-1720*, 36-37, no. 119; Hardie, "Curiously Fitted and Contriv'd", 266-267, no. 23; RISM A/I, v. 467, M 1384. See also my introduction to the facsimile edition (Alston, 1999), though the assumption made there and elsewhere that Matteis was still alive in 1703 has been questioned in S. Jones, 'The Legacy of the "Stupendious" Nicola Matteis', *Early Music*, 29 (2001), 553-568.

he was not just transcribing mechanically, and possibly that he was using the treble clef to cater for the bass viol.

A fifth type consists of arrangements of songs. They are mostly put down an octave in the alto clef without text, though there are several cases where the text was retained. One piece, 'Strike up drowsy gut scrapers', was copied out at its original pitch (Item V; no. 28) and then arranged for gamba (Item VI; no. 31). Unfortunately, Hand B got the transposition wrong: he put it down a tenth rather than an octave, one of several mistakes of this sort. Most of the songs seem to have been taken from printed songs books, which helps with dating. In particular, Hand B copied a number of songs from Thomas D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, transposing them down an octave in the alto clef. This has the potential to date Items III, V, VI and X. The songs in Items III and X were first published in the 1699 edition of *Pills*, but 'Strike up drowsy gut scrapers' (Item V/28) did not appear until the 1707 edition, and 'Have you seen battledore play' (Item VI; no. 32) was not included until the 1719 collected edition, *Songs Compleat, Pleasant and Divertive*.<sup>39</sup> One suspects that Hand B obtained all of them from a single copy of the 1719 edition; if so, it would place these items much later than at first sight appears.

The last category comes in Item XIII. A new hand, F (which could be a later version of Hand B) wrote five pieces (nos. 65-69) in score, treble and bass. At first sight they appear to be for keyboard or possibly violin and bass. Nos. 68 and 69 have a few chords added below the melody, which could easily be thought of as for keyboard, but they also fit easily on the bass viol down the octave. It is likely that this copyist (assuming that he was not the same person as Hand B) was also a gamba player because the last two pieces (nos. 70 and 71) are solo gamba versions of the popular song 'When the king enjoys his own again'; there is also a version of it in score (no. 66). This is interesting because the tune was particularly associated with the potential, and then the actual, Restoration of Charles II in 1660, and later with the fortunes of the Tories, and even the Jacobites: a broadside of 1719 set to the tune calls for sympathy for the Old Pretender on his marriage to Maria Sobieska.<sup>40</sup> Does this mean that Hand F (or B) was a Tory, or even had Jacobite sympathies?

The most surprising discovery is that two pieces in Item XIII are by Handel. No. 67 is the two-part Minuet in G minor HWV534, while no. 68 is the Minuet from The Water Music HWV348/7, but in C major rather than F major [Illus. 1]. It is not clear how the copyist obtained them. The G minor minuet was not published until 1729, when it appeared in *A General Collection of the Minuets Made for the Balls at Court, the Operas and Masquerades*, though the version printed there is not

---

<sup>39</sup> For the editions of *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, see C.L. Day and E.B. Murrie, *English Song Books 1651-1702: a Bibliography* (London, 1940), 117-118, 121, 131-132, 133-140, 142-153, nos. 182, 188, 203, 204, 208, 210A, 213-216, 218, 222-224, 227, 228, 231-240, 242. There is a reprint of *Songs Compleat, Pleasant and Divertive* (London, 1871).

<sup>40</sup> C.M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick NJ, 1966), 764-768.





Illus. 1: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MU. MS 647, p. 51. Hand F or B. Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

at all like the one in the Fitzwilliam manuscript.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, the Fitzwilliam version of the Water Music minuet is quite unlike the original orchestral version or the ones in the keyboard collection *The 3d Book of the Lady's Banquet* (1720), the first to appear in print, or *A General Collection of Minuets*. It may be that the copyist found it in a single-line source such as *The New Country Dancing Master, 3d Book* (1728), for

<sup>41</sup> W.C. Smith and C. Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the Years 1721-1766* (London, 1968), 235, no. 1042; W.C. Smith and C. Humphries, *Handel: a Descriptive Catalogue of the Early Editions* (Oxford, 1970), 272. Modern edition of two versions of HWV534 in G.F. Handel, *Einzelne überlieferte Instrumentalwerke II*, ed. T. Best, Hallische Händel-Ausgabe, IV/19 (Kassel, Basel, London and New York, 1988), 194.

the bass line is incompetent and was probably cobbled together by the copyist.<sup>42</sup> It seems unlikely that the version in MU. MS 647 – and therefore the whole of Item XIII – was copied much before 1730.

-----

A clue to the provenance of MU. MS 647, and the identity of Hand B, lies in its relationship to the other music books transferred to the Fitzwilliam Museum from Magdalene College around 1915. Evidence for the nature of this transaction is provided by two documents kept with MU. MS 647. The first is a letter to Edward Dent on headed Magdalene College notepaper:

22 July 1915 / Dear Dent / In going through some loose and very dirty papers in th[e] College Library, I have come across the enclosed pieces of music. I wonder if you would care to look through them any time at your leisure, and to pick out anything you think the Fitzwilliam would care to have? The rest I shall probably throw away, unless you suggest any other destination for them. / I hope this is not troubling you too much / I am / yours very truly / Stephen Gaselee

The writer, Stephen (later Sir Stephen) Gaselee (1882-1943), was Pepys Librarian at Magdalene at the time,<sup>43</sup> while Edward Dent (1876-1957) was a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge and seems to have been acting as an advisor for the Fitzwilliam.<sup>44</sup> At that period the library of the Fitzwilliam Museum, founded on the collection of Richard, Viscount Fitzwilliam (1745-1816), was the main music library in Cambridge, and would therefore have been a more natural home for the collection than the main university library.<sup>45</sup>

The second document was written by Dent himself in pencil on headed notepaper of 75 Panton Street, Cambridge, one of the two houses he owned in Cambridge. It seems to be a list of the items received from Gaselee, annotated

---

<sup>42</sup> For the early publication history of the Water Music, see W.C. Smith and C. Humphries, *Handel: a Descriptive Catalogue of the Early Editions* (Oxford, 1970), esp. 255-260; C. Hogwood, *Handel: Water Music and Music for the Royal Fireworks* (Cambridge, 2005), 22-24.

<sup>43</sup> For Gaselee, see R. Storrs, rev. D. McKitterick, 'Sir Stephen Gaselee', *ODNB* (accessed 3 September 2007).

<sup>44</sup> For Dent, see esp. P. Radcliffe, *Edward J. Dent: a Centenary Memoir* (Rickmansworth, 1976); H. Carey, *Duet for Two Voices: an Informal Biography of Edward Dent Compiled from his Letters to Clive Carey* (Cambridge, 1979); A. Lewis and N. Fortune, 'Edward J(oseph) Dent', *GMO* (Accessed 3 September 2007); N. Scaife, 'Edward Dent', *ODNB* (accessed 3 September 2007).

<sup>45</sup> For the music collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, see esp. J.A. Fuller-Maitland and A.H. Mann, *Catalogue of the Music in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (London and Cambridge, 1893); *A Short-Title Catalogue of Music Printed before 1825 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, ed. V. Rumbold and I. Fenlon (Cambridge, 1992); C. Bartlett, *The Music Collections of the Cambridge Libraries: a Listing and Guide to Parts Three to Six of the Research Publications Microfilm Collection* (Reading, 1991). I am grateful to Karen Arrandale for advice on Edward Dent and his position in Cambridge at the time.

seemingly using Eitner's *Quellen-Lexikon* to identify copies of the prints in other libraries:<sup>46</sup>

William Williams / Six Sonatas in 3 Parts 1703 / not in Eitner  
J. S. Humphries / 12 Sonatas for 2 violins / BM, Brussels  
Glasgow  
James Kent 12 Anthems / 1773 / BM  
Aires & Symphonys for the Bass Viol (from Camilla, Hydaspes  
etc) / Br Mus.  
Giovanni Schenk – Select lessons for the Bass Viol of 2 parts /  
The first collection / 1 part only  
William Gorton A Choice Collection of New Ayres for 2 Bass  
viols 1701 / 2 pts  
10 tunes treble & bass by Mr Lenton. MS. / No!  
Mr Hely. Suite for 2 bass viols. MS  
Sylvia how could you ?Purcell  
The oracle to war Purcell / MS  
Sonata a flauto solo MS. / ?French 17<sup>th</sup> cent  
Songs MS  
Songs in Bonduca  
Teucer's Voyage Purcell / voice part  
A soldier & a sailor Eccles  
Mr Eccles Tunes in Double Distress  
(Suite 2 vols) Mr Tollitt (MS)

The list seems to divide into two sections: the prints are listed first followed by the manuscripts – though he did not always add 'MS' to items lower down the sequence.

Most if not all of them can be identified with items now in the Fitzwilliam Museum. The six prints are:

William Williams, *Six Sonata's in Three Parts. Three for Two Violins and Three for Two Flutes. With a Part for the Base-Violin or Viol, and a Figur'd Base for the Organ, Harpsicord or Arch-Lute.* (London: John Hare ... and John Walsh, 1703). MU. 524-7.<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> R. Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 11 vols. (Leipzig, 1900–1904; repr. 1959).

<sup>47</sup> RISM A/I, ix. 229, W 1173; Smith, *A Bibliography of ... John Walsh ... 1695-1720*, 38-39, no. 126; Hardie, "Curiously Fitted and Contriv'd", 269, no. 25; *A Short-Title Catalogue of Music Printed before 1825 in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, ed. Rumbold and Fenlon, 135.

J.S. Humphries, *XII Sonatas for Two Violins, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord*, op. 1 (London: John Walsh, [1734]). MU. 1170.<sup>48</sup>

James Kent, *Twelve Anthems* (London: Preston and Son, [c.1780]). MU. 1202.<sup>49</sup>

Ayres & Symphonys for y<sup>e</sup> Bass Viol being a Choice Collection of y<sup>e</sup> most Favorite Song Tunes, Aires & Symphonys out of the Late Operas, Curiously Contriv'd & Fitted to the Bass Viol by the Best Masters ... (London: J. Walsh ... & J. Hare, [1710]). MU. 1172.<sup>50</sup>

Johann Schenck, *Select Lessons for the Bass Viol of Two Parts Collected by our Best Viollist out of the Works of ... Giovanni Schenke ... the First Collection* (London: I. Walsh and I. Hare, [1703]), continuo part only. MU. 882.<sup>51</sup>

William Gorton, *A Choice Collection of New Ayres, Compos'd and Contriv'd for Two Bass-Viols* (London: John Young, 1701). MU. 1002-3.<sup>52</sup>

It is likely that most of these prints came from the same source as MU. MS 647. Three of them contain solo bass viol music contemporary with the manuscript, and a bass viol could have been used in performances of the sets of trio sonatas by Williams and Humphries. In one case, Gorton's *Choice Collection*, there is a definite connection: Hand B of MU. MS 647 copied two sets of divisions (one a fragment of a piece by Jenkins) onto an extra sheet at the end of each part-book.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, as we shall see, the part-books of the Williams and Humphries trio sonatas and the copy of *Ayres & Symphonys for y<sup>e</sup> Bass Viol* have similar blue paper covers to the Gorton and were annotated by the same eighteenth-century hand. The odd man out is the copy of James Kent's *Twelve Anthems* since it is church music and is much later than the others, though since it is on Dent's list it too presumably came from Magdalene College.

---

<sup>48</sup> RISM A/I, iv. 452, H 7925; Smith and Humphries, *A Bibliography of ... John Walsh ... 1721-1766*, 191-192, no. 852; *A Short-Title Catalogue of Music Printed before 1825 in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, ed. Rumbold and Fenlon, 70; R. Platt, 'John [J.S.] Humphries', *GMO* (accessed 2 July 2007). Smith and Humphries and Rumbold and Fenlon give the date as c.1736.

<sup>49</sup> RISM A/I, v. 25, K 404; *A Short-Title Catalogue of Music Printed before 1825 in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, ed. Rumbold and Fenlon, 75. The date, 1773, on Dent's list is of the original Randall edition, which he probably took from Eitner.

<sup>50</sup> *A Short-Title Catalogue of Music Printed before 1825 in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, ed. Rumbold and Fenlon, 2. For the collection, see fn. 16.

<sup>51</sup> RISM A/I, vii. 377, S 1455; Smith, *A Bibliography of ... John Walsh ... 1695-1720*, 40-41, no. 136; *A Short-Title Catalogue of Music Printed before 1825 in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, ed. Rumbold and Fenlon, 107. It is a reprint of movements from Schenck's *Scherzi musicali* (Amsterdam, [1698]).

<sup>52</sup> RISM A/I, iii. 297, G 3027; *A Short-Title Catalogue of Music Printed before 1825 in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, ed. Rumbold and Fenlon, 40.

<sup>53</sup> Anonymous A minor ground, VdGS, Anon, no. 401; fragment of Jenkins, C major ground, VdGS, Jenkins, Music for Two Bass Viols, no. 36 (also catalogued separately as VdGS, Anon, no. 402).

Bass viol music – or at least music that could have used a bass viol in performance – is found in most of the manuscripts on Dent's list. Some of them are readily identifiable. Despite Dent's annotation 'No!' against it (meaning, presumably, that he thought it not worthy of the Fitzwilliam), '10 tunes treble & bass by Mr Lenton. MS.' is clearly MU. MS 642, two large folio sheets containing 'Ten Tunes Treble & Base by M<sup>r</sup> Lenton', the outer parts of a probable theatre suite by John Lenton. 'Mr Hely. Suite for 2 bass viols. MS' must be MU. MS 634, two small bifolia containing 'For Two Bass Violls / M<sup>r</sup> Hely', separate parts of a six-movement F major suite by Benjamin Hely. 'Sonata a flauto solo MS. / ?French 17<sup>th</sup> cent' is MU. MS 636, a score in oblong format of an anonymous F major 'Sonata a Flaûto Solo' for recorder and continuo. It is probably by an Italian or a German rather than a Frenchman, to judge from the style of the music and the handwriting. 'Mr Eccles Tunes in Double Distress' is MU. MS 640, a bifolium containing the first violin part of 'M<sup>r</sup>. Eccles Tunes in the double distress' – John Eccles's suite for Mary Pix's play, produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1701.<sup>54</sup> '(Suite 2 vols) Mr Tollitt (MS)' is presumably MU. MS 646, a nine-movement suite for two trebles and bass by, probably, Thomas Tollett, though it consists of three small folio sheets, one for each part, rather than two volumes.

Identifying the six remaining manuscripts is more of a problem. 'Songs MS' is too vague for it to be identified, though it could refer to MU. MS 644, an early eighteenth-century oblong quarto manuscript of songs that begins (f. 1v-2) with the voice-parts of the duet 'To arms, your ensigns straight display' from Purcell's music for *Bonduca* (1695) Z574/15b. If that is so, then it is strange that Dent listed 'The oracle to war Purcell / MS' and 'Sylvia how could you ?Purcell' as separate items, for they are both found in MU. MS 644: 'The oracle to war' is the second half of 'To arms, your ensigns straight display', while 'Silvia how cou'd you e're mistrust' is on ff. 3v-4, and is by John Eccles rather than by Purcell, written for a revival of John Dryden's play *The Spanish Friar, or The Double Discovery* and published in Eccles's *A Collection of Songs for One, Two and Three Voices* (London, 1704), no. 25.<sup>55</sup> A possible explanation for this confusing state of affairs is that MU. MS 644 was still unbound in 1915, causing Dent to list several of its sheets separately.

A possibility for 'Songs in Bonduca' is Item X of MU. MS 647, for it contains two versions (nos. 57 and 60) of another song from *Bonduca*, 'O lead me to some peaceful gloom' Z574/17. The second version takes up most of the second leaf of the bifolium and is headed 'Song in Bonduca'. 'Teucer's Voyage Purcell / voice part' seems to be a reference to another piece in MU. MS 647, for Item XI; no. 64 is the voice part of Purcell's song 'When Teucer from his father fled' Z522. Similarly, 'A soldier & a sailor Eccles' may refer to the copy of Eccles's song in MU. MS 647, Item XII; no. 65, though it lacks the words, so Dent would have had

---

<sup>54</sup> C.A. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre, with a Catalogue of Instrumental Music in the Plays 1665-1713* ([Ann Arbor], 1979), 161-162.

<sup>55</sup> See RISM A/I, ii. 524, E 311; D. Hunter, *Opera and Song Books Published in England 1703-1726, a Descriptive Bibliography* (London, 1997), 34-36.

to have known it to be able to identify it. It is strange that the rest of MU. MS 647 does not appear on Dent's list, but he may have taken Items XI and XII to stand for the rest of what was probably a pile of loose papers, or the list may be incomplete, perhaps because not all the items had been sent to him when he compiled it, or he was interrupted for some reason in the process of evaluating the collection.

As it happens, there is evidence that more items were transferred from Magdalene College to the Fitzwilliam Museum than appear on Dent's list. MU. MS 641 is a bifolium containing solo bass viol suites in A minor and A major by Benjamin Hely; all found in *The Complete Violist* except the air that ends the A major suite.<sup>56</sup> It seems to have been copied by Hand B of MU. MS 647. MU. MS 643, four mostly blank nested quarto leaves, came from the same source, for the bass parts of two D major pieces on f. 1, a 'Minuett' and a triple-time air marked 'Slow', were also copied by Hand B. A third manuscript, MU. MS 645, contains some more solo gamba music, though the hands do not seem to be found in MU. MS 647 and most of it is clearly rather earlier than the rest of the collection. It consists of two nested bifolia containing (ff. 1-2v) the bass parts of nine movements by Jenkins in D minor and D major entitled (wrongly) 'M<sup>r</sup>. Jenkins 5. Bell Consort'.<sup>57</sup> A different hand added three preludes for solo bass viol by Christopher Simpson (ff. 4v-4R), presumably copied from *The Division-Violist* (1659) or one of the later editions,<sup>58</sup> and two anonymous dances in D minor for solo bass viol, 'An Almaine plain way' and 'A Saraband plain way' (ff. 3vR).<sup>59</sup> A third and later hand added an untitled and anonymous jig in the treble clef (f. 3R). In addition, the Magdalene College Part-Books, an enormous collection of instrumental movements from English, French and German theatre works, assembled by the French bassoonist and music copyist Charles Babel around 1710, is known to have been transferred from the Old Library at Magdalene to the Fitzwilliam Museum in March 1916, where it remained until it was returned in 1969.<sup>60</sup> Perhaps the other items I have been discussing were transferred with it in March 1916.

---

<sup>56</sup> VdGS, Hely, nos. 1-9; see fn. 17.

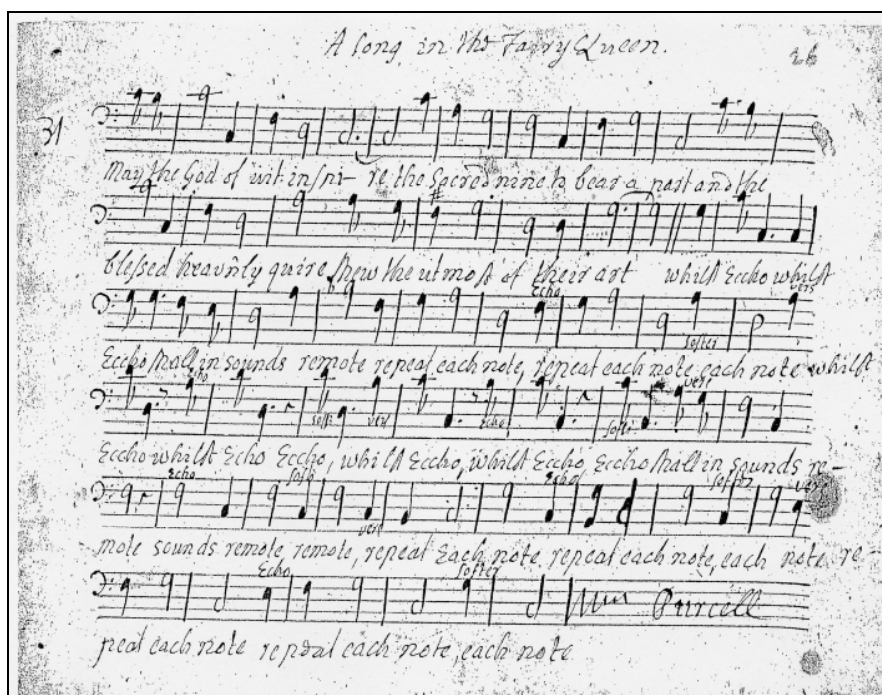
<sup>57</sup> VdGS, Jenkins, Lyra Consort in D minor, nos. 1-8, Lyra Consort in D, no. 1. See A. Ashbee, 'Music for Treble, Bass and Organ by John Jenkins', *Chehys*, 6 (1975-6), 25-42, at 39; J. Jenkins, *The Lyra Viol Consorts*, ed. F. Traficante, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 67-68 (Madison WI, 1992), esp. xii.

<sup>58</sup> VdGS, Simpson, Preludes and Divisions for Solo Bass Viol, nos. 1-3.

<sup>59</sup> VdGS, Anon, nos. 211, 212.

<sup>60</sup> Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, F435. See R. Herissone, 'The Origins and Contents of the Magdalene College Partbooks', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 29 (1996), 47-95, at 47. For Babel, see esp. B. Gustavson, 'The Legacy in Instrumental Music of Charles Babel, Prolific Transcriber of Lully's Music', *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Actes du Colloque / Kongreßbericht*, ed. J. de La Gorce and H. Schneider, Neue Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 18 (Laaber, 1990), 495-516; id., 'Charles Babel', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. L. Fischer, *Personenteil*, 17 vols. (Kassel, 1999), i, cols. 1250-1251; P. Holman, 'Did Handel Invent the English Keyboard Concerto?', *The Musical Times*, 144 (Summer 2003), 13-22; Schneider, 'Un Manuscrit de Charles Babel restitué à sa bibliothèque d'origine', *Revue de musicology*, 87 (2001), 371-394.

It is now clear that at least 15 early eighteenth-century prints and manuscripts now in the Fitzwilliam Museum came from the library of Magdalene College; for a list, see Appendix II. But what of their history before 1915? A clue is provided by a collection still in the Old Library at Magdalene College, the Ferrar Box of Music.<sup>61</sup> This is a modern box file containing 27 prints and manuscripts apparently ranging in date from 1698 (nos. 7-10, an incomplete copy of the Roger print *Six Sonates à 2 Flustes et 2 Hautbois ou Violons et 1 Basse Continüe* by Gottfried Finger and Johann Gottfried Keller) to c.1750 (no. 25, *The Ladies Pocket Guide, or The Complete Tutor for the Guittar*).<sup>62</sup> An immediate connection between the Fitzwilliam collection and the Ferrar Box can be established by the fact that the same individual wrote Fitzwilliam Museum, MU. MS 644 (the early eighteenth-century song manuscript) and Ferrar Box no. 26, a folded quarto sheet containing (on the first side) a copy of the bass part of 'May the god of wit inspire' from Purcell's *The Fairy Queen* Z629/8b [Illus. 2].



Illus. 2: Cambridge, Library of Magdalene College, the Ferrar Box of Music, no. 26. The hand of Thomas Ferrar. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

<sup>61</sup> There is a brief list in Herissone, 'The Origins and Contents of the Magdalene College Partbooks', 94-95. Herissone lists 26 items, but a 27th, a print of 'Happy pair' from Handel's *Alexander's Feast*, came to light after her article was published.

<sup>62</sup> For *Six Sonates*, see Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles Le Cène*, 36; Rawson, 'From Omolouc to London', ii. 251-252, 331. For *The Ladies Pocket Guide*, see RISM B II, 215.

Also, four of the items in the Fitzwilliam collection, MU. 524-7 (Williams, *Six Sonata's in Three Parts*), MU. 1170 (Humphries, *XII Sonatas*), MU. 1172 (*Ayres & Symphonys for y<sup>e</sup> Bass Viol*), and MU. 1002-3 (Gorton, *A Choice Collection of New Ayres*), have old blue paper covers that are similar to the ones covering Ferrar Box nos. 11-13 (printed parts of John Ravenscroft, *Sonate de Camera a doi Violini col Basso Continuo*) and 25 (*The Ladies Pocket Guide*). The first violin part of MU. 1170 can help us date these covers because the sheet of blue paper used as its cover is a recycled printed advertisement dated 13 April 1734 for several publications, including George Vertue's *The Heads of the Kings of England proper for Rapin's History, Translated by N. Tindal* (London, 1736). In addition, annotations labelling the parts of MU. 524-7, 1170, 1172 and 1002-3 are in a large eighteenth-century hand that is also found on some of the items in the Ferrar Box, including nos. 2 (printed continuo part for the overture to Haym's *Pyrrus*), 11-13 (Ravenscroft, *Sonate da Camera*), 14 (printed score of the overture to Bononcini's *Almahide*), 17 (fragment of a printed score of the overture to Handel's *Rinaldo*), and 25 (*The Ladies Pocket Guide*). Thus, the Fitzwilliam collection and the Ferrar Box of Music came from the same source; presumably the items in the Ferrar Box were not transferred to the Fitzwilliam Museum around 1915 because they had not come to light by that time.

It has been known since the 1990s that the contents of the Ferrar Box of Music, together with the Magdalene College Part-Books and a copy of George Bickham's *Musical Entertainer* (London, 1737-9), originally formed part of the much larger collection of papers from the Ferrar family, bequeathed to Magdalene College by the Revd Peter Peckard (1717-1797), Rector of Fletton in Huntingdonshire, anti-slavery campaigner and Master of the College from 1781.<sup>63</sup> Peckard was the husband of the poet Martha Ferrar (1729-1805), who was the daughter of Edward Ferrar junior (1696-1769), a Huntingdon lawyer and the last direct male heir of the Ferrars of Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire.<sup>64</sup> The brothers John (c.1588-1657) and Nicholas (1593-1637) Ferrar, members of a prominent family of London merchants, settled with their extended family at Little

---

<sup>63</sup> The provenance of the music in the Ferrar Box of Music was established by Richard Luckett, present Pepys Librarian. I am most grateful to him and to David Ransome and Bryan White for information about the collection and for helping me to assess the hands in the Ferrar Music Box and the Fitzwilliam collection. For the Ferrars and the Ferrar papers, see the 'Introduction/Finding List' to the microfilm and CD-ROM edition, *The Ferrar Papers 1590-1790 from Original Material held by Magdalene College, Cambridge*, ed. D.R. Ransome (Wakefield, 1992) (<http://www.microform.co.uk/guides/R97513.pdf>, accessed 4 September 2007). See also Herissone, 'The Origins and Contents of the Magdalene College Partbooks', esp. 48; B. White, "'A Pretty Knot of Musical Friends': the Ferrar Brothers and a Stamford Music Club in the 1690s", *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, ed. R. Cowgill and P. Holman (Aldershot, 2007), 9-44. For Peckard, see J. Walsh and R. Hyam, *Peter Peckard: Liberal Churchman and Anti-Slave Trade Campaigner*, Magdalene College Occasional Papers, 16 (Cambridge, 1998); Walsh, 'Peter Peckard', ODNB (accessed 4 September 2007).

<sup>64</sup> For Martha Peckard, see J. Fullard, 'Martha Peckard [*née* Ferrar]', ODNB (accessed 4 September 2007).



Gidding in 1625.<sup>65</sup> Nicholas became a deacon in the Church of England, and with his brother founded the religious household there, famous in modern times from T.S. Eliot's *Four Quartets*. In addition to its religious observances, the community was notable for scholarship, for bookbinding and for the cultivation of silkworms.

The individuals who seem to have collected, copied and used most of the music in the Ferrar papers were grandsons of John Ferrar and sons of John Ferrar junior (1630-1720). The Revd Thomas (1663-1739), a graduate of Pembroke College, Cambridge, was Rector of Little Gidding (1691-1707), Steeple Gidding (1691-1739) and Sawtry St Andrew (1706-39).<sup>66</sup> Basil (1667-1718) was a grocer in Stamford, and seems to have been the focus of a music club that developed there in the 1690s. Edward senior (1671-1730), was, like his son Edward junior, a lawyer in Huntingdon. He built a fine redbrick house in the town, Ferrar House, that was extended by his son and still stands in George Street.<sup>67</sup> Letters in the Ferrar papers, transcribed and discussed by Bryan White, show that Thomas and Basil were early enthusiasts for Corelli's trio sonatas, apparently acquiring copies of opp. 2-4 before they were published in London. The brothers were also concerned to collect and perform vocal music, including unidentified settings of 'Saul and the Witch of Endor' and the 100th Psalm, and several lists of songs and other vocal music in Thomas's hand (also transcribed by White) show that he had access to more than 20 printed song books, ranging from three collections published in 1685, *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs*, *A Collection of Twenty Four Songs* and *The Theater of Music ... The First Book* to *The Works of Mr. Henry Carey, the Second Edition* (London, 1726).<sup>68</sup> In addition, one of Thomas's lists shows that he owned a manuscript copy of Purcell's ode 'Celestial Music' Z322 (1689), perhaps because he and his fellow members of the Stamford music club planned to perform it.

The links between the Fitzwilliam collection and the Ferrar family require more research, though it is possible to make some immediate connections. One is that MU. MS 644 (songs by Purcell, Eccles and others) and Ferrar Box of Music, no. 26 (the bass part of Purcell's 'May the god of wit inspire') are both in the hand of the Revd Thomas Ferrar. The literary hand of the latter is clearly the same as in his letters in the Ferrar papers: the sickle-shaped 'S' and the lower-case 'd' with its distinctive backwards loop are particularly striking.<sup>69</sup> This reinforces the impression made by his lists of songs that he was a serious collector of vocal music. Another connection is that the person who annotated a number of the printed items in both collections was Edward Ferrar junior. His large distinctive hand is also found annotating many of the documents in the main Ferrar papers. He seems to have acquired the collection from his cousin Nicholas Ferrar junior

---

<sup>65</sup> For John and Nicholas Ferrar, see esp. D.R. Ransome, 'John Ferrar', *ODNB* (accessed 17 September 2007); N.W.S. Cranfield, 'Nicholas Ferrar', *ODNB* (accessed 17 September 2007).

<sup>66</sup> See *Clergy of the Church of England Database*, <http://eagle.cch.kcl.ac.uk:8080/cce/index.html> (accessed 4 September 2007).

<sup>67</sup> See 'The Borough of Huntingdon: Introduction, Castle and Borough', *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (accessed 4 September 2007).

<sup>68</sup> See White, "'A Pretty Knot of Musical Friends'", 39-44.

<sup>69</sup> See the sample in *ibid.*, 29, fig. 1.4.

(b. 1705), the son of Basil.<sup>70</sup> There is no sign that Nicholas junior was musical, so it may be that some or all of the music came directly to Edward junior from his father. Edward junior appears to be the person who added the later printed vocal music now in the Ferrar Box of Music to the collection, including two songs from Boyce's *Solomon* (1742) (nos. 19 and 21), a song adapted from a movement in the overture to Samuel Howard's *The Amorous Goddess* (1744) (no. 23), two songs by Thomas Arne (nos. 6 and 22), and the copy of *The Ladies Pocket Guide* (c.1750) (no. 25). The proof that he was interested in contemporary vocal music is provided by the Ferrar copy of the two volumes of Bickham's *Musical Entertainer*, to which he supplied a meticulous manuscript index.<sup>71</sup>

However, there is no sign that Edward junior was a bass viol player or was much interested in instrumental music. In any case, the Fitzwilliam collection seems to have been mostly assembled in the first years of the eighteenth century, the period when Thomas, Basil and Edward senior were active; Edward junior was only born in 1696. Edward senior is the most likely candidate for the main copyist, Hand B, of MU. MS 647. Although it is difficult to make meaningful comparisons between music hands (or for that matter the formal literary hands used for the titles of pieces) and the informal literary hands used in correspondence, the forms Edward senior used in his letters are certainly similar to that used by Hand B for song texts: note, for instance, the rather crabbed lower case letters, mostly sloping sharply to the right, though with the 'd' looping to the left, and the mixture of secretary and italic forms used for the 'e' [Illus. 3, 4]. There are not many examples in Edward's letters of the formal style used by Hand B for titles and headings, though he uses similar forms in his signature; compare, for instance, the detached cross-stroke of the 'F' in Ferrar with the similar form of the 'T' in 'Tune'. Although we should regard the identification of Hand B with Edward senior as likely rather than proven at present, it is significant that his adult life coincides with the period covered by MU. MS 647: he died in 1730 while the latest pieces in the collection, the Handel minuets in Item XIII, were probably taken from printed anthologies of 1728 and 1729.

No evidence has yet been found in the main Ferrar papers that Edward senior was a bass viol player, though he only figures in the first two letters transcribed by Bryan White (Ferrar Papers, nos. 1542, 1544), written at a time (24 April 1693 and 13 January 1693/4) when he was still at Little Gidding.<sup>72</sup> He does not seem to have been party to the later activities of the music club, probably as White suggests because he was by then living in Huntingdon and was therefore too far from Stamford to attend meetings regularly. In an undated letter probably from February 1694 (Ferrar Papers, no. 1558) Thomas complains that 'We are in extreme want of a Bass Viol' and informs his correspondent, the Revd Henry Bedell of Southwick in Northamptonshire, that 'if you can procure one for us you

<sup>70</sup> 'Introduction/Finding List', *The Ferrar Papers 1590-1790*, ed. Ransome, iii.

<sup>71</sup> Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, H1022.

<sup>72</sup> White, "'A Pretty Knot of Musical Friends'", 31-32.

will much oblige the whole Consort'.<sup>73</sup> Given Basil Ferrar's role in the family's musical activities, it is surprising that his distinctive hand is not obviously present in MU. MS 647, though he could be Hand C, who makes a fleeting appearance in Item III copying the tune 'Royall and Faire' (no. 17). The bold literary hand, with its Greek 'e', is suggestive, though the sample is too small to be sure [Illus. 5, 6]. It is likely that further research will enable other identifications to be made between copyists in the Fitzwilliam manuscripts and the main Ferrar papers. I wonder, for instance, whether the two main copyists of MU. MS 645 might be members of the Little Giddling household in the Restoration period, or perhaps music masters brought in to teach Thomas, Basil and Edward Ferrar.

As soon as I could get acquainted Bro: John<sup>sr</sup> the student  
 who as soon as he could has raised some Money for you, and  
 Mr. Green at the Bracons in Cheap-side (who gives you your  
 for his money upon Bro:) Enters for 43:12:00  
 and Bro: desires that you'd pay Mr. Green what is  
 due to him which is 33:12:00 for principle & interest  
 as my Bro: desires about the 10<sup>th</sup> of July. So that if you can get  
 him to abate so much <sup>interest</sup> as it wants of the full sum so  
 you may take the Bond in again and so I am glad  
 the matter is like to be compleated by R. Green upon  
 Mr. Gents Report & Bonds. This with my Duty wishing  
 you a good journey into the country I remaine  
 Your affectionate Son  
 Edward Ferrar  
 I am I wish this so I depended upon a John<sup>sr</sup> for the  
 money was mentioned but was prevented by his not being  
 I hope to send you a full payab<sup>le</sup> your self.

Recd  
 June 22 1704

Illus. 3: Cambridge, Library of Magdalene College, Ferrar Papers, Item. 1669. Letter of Edward Ferrar senior to his father, 22 June 1704. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 32-33.



Illus. 4: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MU MS 647, p. 38. The probable hand of Edward Ferrar senior. Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Good: Brother      *Cambridge Jan<sup>y</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1693*

I did expect to have heard of your  
 welfare w<sup>th</sup> the rest of friends last week. I  
 hope I shall this week. I hope you had a good  
 Journey to Northampton and a safe return back.  
 I was very happy in my last Journey to Gidding  
 having your good company w<sup>th</sup> the rest. I hope  
 you remember y<sup>r</sup> promise in coming to see us.  
 w<sup>ch</sup> you made me w<sup>ch</sup> was w<sup>th</sup> you. as your go-  
 ing of a hearty welcome to our house. Mr. Wilkins  
 designs for Giddon on Monday next; if your busi-  
 ness will you will see shall be glad to see you on Sa-  
 turday next for Oundle market. to play a game  
 at Hoop Ace w<sup>th</sup> us. Mr. Walburge & Mr. Ditchall  
 w<sup>th</sup> Mrs. Mary give their service to you and all  
 our family and wish you health.  
 Our musical friends give their service to you  
 and all w<sup>th</sup> you. Agitant Goddard gives his  
 duty to his noble Captain and desired me to  
 acquaint him that he likes his quarters at  
 Dame Sumpters very well. Pray give my  
 humble duty to Father and mother w<sup>th</sup> true  
 love to Brothers and Sisters, the same to your  
 good selfe for your truly affectionate Brother  
 to serve you

*Basil Ferrar*

I wrote to Mr. Burr on Sunday last.

Illus. 5: Cambridge, Library of Magdalene College, Ferrar Papers, Item 1554. Letter of Basil Ferrar to his brother Edward, 13 January 1693/4. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

To sum up: MU. MS 647 is important not so much for the quality of its music, which ranges from the sublime (Purcell's 'Two in on upon a ground' from *Dioclesian*) to the trivial or the incompetent, but for what it tells us about changing fashions in English gamba music in the early eighteenth century. It illustrates the change, also found in the repertories for other solo instruments at the time, from specially composed music in traditional genres to arrangements of pieces borrowed from the solo violin repertory, from theatre music, or from popular

song.<sup>74</sup> This change made necessary a new way of notating gamba music, in the octave-transposing treble clef instead of the traditional alto and bass clefs. In Edward Ferrar's case, it was probably inspired or made necessary by his acquisition of a copy of *Ayres & Symphonys for y<sup>e</sup> Bass Viol*, with its pieces in the treble clef. Most important, the viol music in the Fitzwilliam collection is one more piece of evidence that amateur gamba playing was still alive in England in the second and third decades of the eighteenth century, much later than has traditionally been thought. The discovery that it belongs to a hitherto unknown part of the Ferrar papers throws new and unexpected light on the musical activities of the family, and musical life in early eighteenth-century East Anglia.



Illus. 6: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MU MS. 647, p. 16. The possible hand of Basil Ferrar. Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

<sup>74</sup> A similar change can be observed in the English lute and harpsichord repertoires, see for instance J. Harley, *British Harpsichord Music*, i: *Sources* (Aldershot, 1992), esp. 102-106; ii: *History* (Aldershot, 1994), esp. 104; T. Crawford, 'Lord Danby's Lute Book: a New Source of Handel's Hamburg Music', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge*, 2 (1986), 19-50; M. Spring, *The Lute in Britain: a History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford, 2001), 439-450.

Appendix I:  
Inventory of Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MU. MS 647  
(formerly Music Box II, 16-22)

Page No. Title; Key; Clef (of solo part); Concordances (=); Comment;  
References

The continuous pagination is modern.

---

ITEM I (MU. MS 647A). Format: two interleaved bifolia. Watermark: Dutch lion (p. 1); countermark: possible 'MC' (p. 7); ?late seventeenth century. Copying date: probably after 1694 (first publication of no. 7).

Hand A

- |     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| 1-3 | 1 | 'The Trumpet' / 'E Wythie'; C major; A, B clefs; = no. 8; GB-Ob, MS Mus.<br>Sch. C.61, 1 (incomplete); RT67. Probably by Edward Withy.                        |
| 3   | 2 | [prelude]; G minor; A, B clefs; VdGS, Anon, no. 221.  |
| 3   | 3 | 'Jigg'; D major; A, B clefs; = no. 10; VdGS, Anon, no. 222.   |
| 4-5 | 4 | [battle-piece]; D major; A/B clefs. Perhaps by Edward Withy.  |
| 6   | 5 | [ground]; A minor; A clef; = Henry Purcell, 'Two in one upon a Ground' from <i>Dioclesian</i> (1690), Z627/16, down a tenth.<br>Ground, down a third, at end. |

?later version of Hand A

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 7 | 6 | 'Greensleeves w <sup>th</sup> divis'; G minor; Tr clef; opening missing. Not the same as 'Greensleeves to a Ground'; <i>The Division Violin</i> (1695), no. 27; <i>The Division Flute</i> , i (1706), no. 6, etc.; BBB, 268-278.  |
| 8 | 7 | 'Ground in Bb'; Bb major; Tr clef; = shortened version of Solomon Eccles, Bellamira, Division on a Ground'; <i>Thesaurus Musicus</i> , ii (1694), 24-25; <i>The Division Violin</i> (1695), no. 33; <i>The Division Flute</i> , i (1706), no. 8; GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.95, 238.<br>Ground at end. |

ITEM II (MU. MS 647B). Format: bifolium. Hand: B. Watermark: fleur-de-lys; countermark: 'IV'; ?late seventeenth century. Copying date: probably after 1697 (publication of no. 12).

Hand B

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| 9-11 | 8 | 'Mr. Withy's Trumpett Tune'; C major; A, B clefs; = no. 1.   |
| 11   | 9 | [ground]; G major; B clef; derived from 'Fie, nay prithee, John / A Scolding Catch', ZD100. Possibly by Henry Purcell. |

- |    |    |  |
|----|----|--|
| 11 | 10 | 'Jigg', D major; A, B clefs; = no. 3.  |
| 12 | 11 | [minuet or song tune]; G minor; A clef; VdGS, Anon, no. 223.   |
| 12 | 12 | 'Trumpett'; D major; B clef; = melody down an octave of Henry Purcell, 'Fourth Act Tune' from <i>Dioclesian</i> (1690), Z627/24. Probably copied from <i>Ayres ... for the Theatre</i> (1697). |

ITEM III (MU. MS 647C). Format: originally two bifolia. One (pp. 13-14, 17-18) is complete, but only the top half of the first leaf (pp. 15-16), and the stub of the second (after p. 16) remain of the other. Watermark: as Item II. Copying date: probably after 1719 (date of probable source of nos. 17 and 19).

Hand B

- |    |    |  |
|----|----|--|
| 13 | 13 | 'Integer vitae scelerisque purus'; D minor; A clef with text; not the same as D&M, no. 1827. |
| 13 | 14 | 'Skolding wyfes'; D minor; B clef; = Hotman, 'Ballet'; VdGS, Hotman no. 36; RT448.           |
| 13 | 15 | 'M <sup>r</sup> . Hills delight'; F major; A clef; VdGS, Anon, no. 224.                      |
| 14 |    | Blank  |
| 15 | 16 | [bouree]; D minor; 2 Tr, B clefs in score; incomplete.                                       |

Hand C

- |    |    |  |
|----|----|--|
| 16 | 17 | 'Royall and Faire'; G major; Tr clef; = no. 17. Melody of 'Royal and fair great Willy's dear blessing'; D&M, no. 2835; <i>BBB</i> , 619-620; apparently copied from <i>Pills</i> , i. 314-315. |
|----|----|--|

[stub between pp. 16 and 17]

Hand B

- |    |    |   |
|----|----|---|
| 17 | 18 | 'Royall & Fair'; G major; A clef; = no. 16 down an octave; VdGS, Anon, no. 225. |
| 18 |    | Blank   |

ITEM IV (MU. MS 647D). Format: first leaf of bifolium that is completed by pp. 27-28. Watermark: cursive 'HG'; probably late seventeenth century. Copying date: probably after 1703 (date of likely source of nos. 19-27).

Hand B

- |    |    |  |
|----|----|--|
| 19 | 19 | 'Preludio'; A minor; A clef; = Nicola Matteis senior, <i>Ayrs for the Violin</i> [ <i>AV</i> ], i (1676), p. 1; violin part down an octave; VdGS, Anon, no. 226. Possibly copied from the 1703 reprint (see no. 63). |
| 19 | 20 | 'Giga'; F major; A clef; = Matteis, <i>AV</i> , i, p. 20; violin part down an  |



- octave; VdGS, Anon, no. 227. Possibly copied from the 1703 reprint (see no. 63).
- 19 21 'Contr.Aria'; F major; A clef; = Matteis, *AV*, i, p. 22; violin part down an octave; VdGS, Anon, no. 228. Possibly copied from the 1703 reprint (see no. 63).
- 19 22 'Allegro'; G minor; A clef; = Matteis, *AV*, i, p. 34; violin part down an octave; VdGS, Anon, no. 229. Possibly copied from the 1703 reprint (see no. 63).
- 20 23 'Giga'; D minor; A clef; = Matteis, *AV*, i, p. 48; violin part down an octave; VdGS, Anon, no. 230. Possibly copied from the 1703 reprint (see no. 63).
- 20 24 'Arietta / prestissimo'; D major; A clef; = Matteis, *AV*, i, p. 62; violin part down an octave; VdGS, Anon, no. 231. Possibly copied from the 1703 reprint (see no. 63).
- 20 25 'Aria Allegro / presto'; A minor; A clef; = Matteis, *AV*, i, p. 10; violin part down an octave; VdGS, Anon, no. 232. Possibly copied from the 1703 reprint (see no. 63).
- 20 26 'Allegro'; G minor; A clef; = Matteis, *AV*, i, p. 40; violin part down an octave; VdGS, Anon, no. 233. Possibly copied from the 1703 reprint (see no. 63).
- 20 27 'Giga'; A major; A clef; = Matteis, *AV*, i, p. 110; violin part down an octave; VdGS, Anon, no. 234. Possibly copied from the 1703 reprint (see no. 63).

ITEM V. Format: apparently the top half of a single folio sheet. Watermark: none. Copying date: after 1707 or 1719 (dates of possible sources of no. 28).

Hand D

- 21 28 'Strike up Drowsy gutts scrapers'; F major; Tr clef, with text; = no. 31; D&M, no. 3090; *BBB*, 494; apparently copied from *Pills*, ii. 218-219, first published in the 1707 edition.
- 22 Blank

ITEM VI. Format: bifolium. Watermark: none. Copying date: after 1719 (publication date of no. 32).

- 23 29 'H purcell'; Bb major; A clef; = melody down an octave of Henry Purcell, Air from *The Fairy Queen*, Z629/2a.
- 23 30 'Hornpipe'; D minor; A clef; = melody down a ninth of Henry Purcell, Hornpipe from *The Old Batchelor*, Z607/4.
- 23 31 'strike up drowsy gut scapers'; D minor; A clef with text; = melody of no. 28, copied wongly down a tenth rather than an octave; VdGS, Anon, no. 235.
- 23 32 'Have you seen Battledore play'; G major; B clef; = melody down a twelfth of song by Raphael Courteville; D&M, no. 1291;

apparently copied from *Pills*, ii. 302-303; first published in the 1719 edition; VdGS, Anon, no. 236.

24-6            Blank

ITEM IV. Format: second leaf of bifolium. Watermark: cursive 'HG' (probably late seventeenth century).

27-28            Blank

ITEM VII (MU. MS 647E (I). Format: small bifolium. Watermark: none visible. Copying date: not known.

Hand E

29            Blank

30-31    33    [divisions on a ground]; G minor; A, B clefs; = GB-Ob, MS Mus.  
C.39, f. 8; RT362; VdGS, Anon, no. 16.

32            Blank

ITEM VIII (MU. MS 647E (II). Format: bifolium. Watermark: none visible. Copying date: after 1684 (source of nos. 36 and 37), but possibly taken from later editions.

Hand B

33        34        'The Ground' [with 17 divisions]; C major; A, B clefs; RT33;  
VdGS, Anon, no. 36.

34        35        'Division of Simpson'; D minor; A, B clefs; = Christopher  
Simpson, *The Division-Violist* (1659), 57; VdGS, Simpson,  
Preludes and Divisions for Solo Bass Viol, no. 7. 'Ground Base'  
at end.

34        36        'Preludo'; G minor; A clef; = *The Division Violin* (1684 etc.), no. 17,  
down an octave; RT435; VdGS, Anon, no. 89.

35-6    37        [Farinel's Ground]; D minor; A clef; = *The Division Violin* (1684  
etc.), no. 5, down an octave; BBB, 216-218; VdGS, Anon, no.  
86.

36        38        'Trumpett M<sup>r</sup>: Banister:'; D minor; A, B clefs. Presumably by John  
Banister senior.

ITEM IX (MU. MS 647F). Format: bifolium. Watermarks: indecipherable countermark (pp. 37-38); Dutch lion (pp. 39-40). Copying date: after 1698 (publication of a keyboard version of no. 44), but related to Item X by the common use of red ink.

Hand B

- 37 39, 40 'New Sebell'; C major; A, B clefs; = no. 42; melody down an octave of Henry Purcell, Cibell in C major, ZT678. Two versions, the first incomplete and crossed out. Bass part in red ink.
- 38 41 'Another Sebell'; C major; A, B clefs; = melody down an octave of J.B. Lully, 'Descente de Cybelle' from *Alys* (1676), LWV53/38. For other English versions, see C.B. Schmidt, 'Newly Identified Manuscript Sources for the Music of Jean-Baptiste Lully', *Notes*, 44 (1987), 7-32; R. Herissone, 'The Magdalene College Partbooks: Origins and Contents', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 29 (1996), 85. Bass part in red ink.
- 38 42 'A Tune in Imitac<i>on of Sebell made by M<sup>r</sup>. Purcell'; C major; A clef; = nos. 39, 40.
- 39 43 'Women are by nature false'; D minor; A, B clefs; an arrangement in score for two bass viols of 'The Italian Ground' for recorder and bass, *The Delightful Companion* (1686), sig. C/D; *The Division Violin* (1695), no. 35; *The Second Part of the Division Flute* (1708), no. 6. A keyboard version, GB-En, Inglis 94 MS 3343, ff. 33v-35, is entitled 'A Ground / Senior Baptist<sup>s</sup> Ground', implying that the piece is by Giovanni Battista Draghi; see G.B. Draghi, *Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 56 (Madison WI, 1986), no. 84. Second viol part in red ink.
- 40 44 [rondeau]; D major; A clef; = melody of Jeremiah Clarke, 'Mr Shore's Trumpet Tune'; T.F. Taylor, *Thematic Catalog of the Works of Jeremiah Clarke* (Detroit, 1977), T434, down an octave but with incorrect key signature.
- 40 45 [duple-time air]; ?C major; A clef; apparently copied incorrectly down a seventh instead of an octave.
- 40 46 [duple-time air]; D major; A clef.
- 40 47 [minuet]; G minor; A clef.
- 40 48 [minuet], D minor; A clef.

ITEM X. Format: bifolium. Watermarks: arms of Amsterdam (pp. 41-42); countermark 'Vildary' (pp. 43-44). Copying date: after 1699 or 1719 (dates of possible sources of nos. 49-56).

#### Hand B

- 41 49 'The Danger is over'; D minor; A clef; = melody down an octave of Henry Purcell's song from *The Fatal Marriage* (1694), Z595/1; D&M, no. 795; *BBB*, 159-160; apparently copied from *Pills*, iii. 295-296, first published in the 1699 edition.
- 41 50 'my Life & my Death'; A minor; A clef; = melody down an octave of William Turner's song; D&M, no. 2261; *BBB*, 496-498; apparently copied from *Pills*, iii. 197-198.

- 41 51 'Weep all ye Nymphs'; D minor; A clef; = melody down an octave of John Blow's song from *The Princess of Cleve* (1689); D&M, no. 3589; apparently copied from *Pills*, iii. 200-201.
- 41 52 'Sabine'; C major; A clef; = melody down an octave of Samuel Ackeroyde's song, 'Sabina in the dead of night'; D&M, no. 2840; apparently copied from *Pills*, iii. 209-210.
- 41 53 'When first Amyntas'; A major; A clef; = melody down an octave of Henry Purcell's song, Z430; D&M, no. 3717; BBB, 758-759; apparently copied from *Pills*, i. 334-335.
- 41 54 'Come if you dare'; C major; A clef; = melody down an octave of Henry Purcell's song from *King Arthur* (1691), Z628/10c; D&M, no. 656; apparently copied from *Pills*, iii. 288-289.
- 41 55 'Bright was the morn'; G minor; A clef; = melody down an octave of William Turner's song; D&M, no. 424; BBB, 67-68; apparently copied from *Pills*, i. 260-261.
- 41 56 'Calme was the Evening'; G minor; A clef; = melody down an octave of Alfonso Marsh's song; D&M, no. 468; BBB, 80-81; apparently copied from *Pills*, iii. 160-161.
- 42 57 'Bass to a Song in Bonduca'; C minor; B clef with text; = no. 60. Bass part of Henry Purcell, 'O lead me to some peaceful gloom' from *Bonduca* (1695), Z574/17.
- 42 58 [duple-time air]; Bb major; A clef.
- 42 59 [minuet]; F major; A clef.
- 43-44 60 'Song in Bonduca / M<sup>r</sup>. Henry Purcell'; C minor; A, B clefs in score; two versions; = no. 57. Bass part in red ink.
- 44 61 [?prelude]; G minor; A, B clefs.

ITEM XI (MU. MS 647G). Format: bifolium. Watermarks: countermark 'I VILLDARY' (p. 45); arms of Amsterdam (p. 47). Copying date: after 1703 (date of probable source of no. 63).

#### Hand B

- 45 62 'Go perjur'd man'; D minor; B clef with text; = the vocal bass part of John Blow's duet with a number of corrections; D&M, no. 1148.
- 46-47 63 'Ad Imitatione della Trombetta / Second Treble / First Treble'; C major; two Tr clef parts on facing pages; = first and second treble parts down a tone of Nicola Matteis senior, 'Violino Solo ad imitatione della Trombetta', probably copied from *Sen' Nicola's Aires in 3 Parts . . . his First and Second Books* (1703), ii, no. 25.
- 48 64 'Teucer's Voyage 2 voc M<sup>r</sup>: Purcell'; G minor; A clef with text; = melody down an octave of Henry Purcell, 'When Teucer from his father fled', Z522.

ITEM XII. Format: folio sheet. Watermark: lion. Copying date: after 1695 (first publication of no. 65), but probably taken from a later edition.

Hand F, or later version of B

- |    |    |   |
|----|----|---|
| 49 | 65 | [textless song]; Bb major; T, B clefs in score; = John Eccles, 'A soldier and a sailor'; D&M, no. 3019; BBB, 670-671; <i>Pills</i> , iii. 220-221. First published in <i>Thesaurus musicus</i> , iv (1695). |
| 50 |    | Blank   |

ITEM XIII. Format: folio sheet. Watermark: none. Copying date: probably after 1729 (first publication of no. 67).

Hand F, or later version of B

- |    |     |  |
|----|-----|--|
| 51 | 66  | [textless song]; D major; Tr, B clefs in score; = no. 70, 'When the king enjoys his own again'; BBB, 764-768.  |
| 51 | 67  | [minuet]; G minor; Tr, B clefs in score; = G.F. Handel, Minuet in G minor, HWV534; the tune perhaps taken from <i>A General Collection of Minuets</i> (1729).  |
| 51 | 68  | [minuet]; C major; Tr, B clefs in score; = G.F. Handel, Minuet in F major, HWV511, a version down a fourth of the Minuet from <i>The Water Music</i> , HWV348/7, the tune perhaps copied from <i>The New Country Dancing Master, 3d Book</i> (1728). |
| 51 | 69  | [duple-time air]; F Major; Tr, B clefs in score.   |
| 52 | 70R | [textless song]; G major; A, B clefs; = no. 66; solo bass viol arrangement, with chords.   |
| 52 | 70R | [textless song]; C major; A, B clefs; = no. 66; solo bass viol arrangement, with chords.   |

---

Abbreviations:

- |        |   |
|--------|---|
| A      | Alto.   |
| B      | Bass.   |
| D&M    | C.L. Day and E.B. Murrie, <i>English Song-Books 1651-1702</i> (London, 1940).   |
| GB-Cfm | Cambridge, Library of the Fitzwilliam Museum.   |
| GB-En  | Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland.  |
| GB-Lcm | London, Library of the Royal College of Music.  |
| GB-Ob  | Oxford, Bodleian Library.   |
| HWV    | <i>Händel-Handbuch</i> , i-iii, <i>Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis</i> , ed. B. Baselt (Leipzig, 1978-1986).    |
| LWV    | H. Schneider, <i>Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lully</i> (Tützing, 1981). |

<i>Pills</i>	T. D'Urfey, <i>Songs Compleat, Pleasant and Divertive</i> (London, 1719; repr. 1871), the first complete edition of the collection earlier known as <i>Wit and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy</i> .
R	Page reversed.
RT	J.M. Richards, 'A Study of Music for Bass Viol Written in England in the Seventeenth Century', B.Litt. thesis (Oxford, 1961).
BBB	C.M. Simpson, <i>The British Broadside Ballad and its Music</i> (New Brunswick NJ, 1966).
T	Tenor.
Tr	Treble.
VdGS	Viola da Gamba Society, <i>Thematic Index of Music for Viols</i> , ed. G. Dodd and A. Ashbee (York, 6/1992; 7/2002).
Z	F.B. Zimmerman, <i>Henry Purcell 1659-1695, an Analytical Catalogue of his Music</i> (London, 1963).

---

Appendix II:  
Prints and Manuscripts apparently from the Ferrar Papers,  
now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

MU.	
524-7	William Williams, <i>Six Sonata's in Three Parts</i> (London, 1703).
MS 634	Benjamin Hely, suite in F, two bass viols.
MS 636	Anonymous, sonata in F, recorder and continuo.
MS 640	Violin 1 part of John Eccles, suite for <i>The Double Distress</i> .
MS 641	Benjamin Hely, two suites, solo bass viol, probably copied by Hand B of MU. MS 647.
MS 642	John Lenton, theatre suite, treble and bass.
MS 643	Bass part of two pieces in D major, copied by Hand B of MU. MS 647.
MS 644	Songs by Henry Purcell, John Eccles and anonymous.
MS 645	Bass parts of movements from lyra consorts by John Jenkins, solo bass viol pieces by Christopher Simpson and anonymous.
MS 646	?Thomas Tollett, theatre suite, two trebles and bass.
MS 647	See Appendix I.
882	Johann Schenck, <i>Select Lessons for the Bass Viol of Two Parts</i> (London, [1703]).
1002-3	William Gorton, <i>A Choice Collection of New Ayres</i> (London, 1701), with manuscript additions by Hand B of MU. MS 647.
1170	J.S. Humphries, <i>XII Sonatas for Two Violins</i> (London, [1734]).
1172	<i>Ayres and Symphonys for y<sup>e</sup> Bass Viol</i> (London, [1710]).

# William Young, ‘Englishman’

STEPHEN MORRIS

William Young served as a chamber musician to Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Innsbruck from around 1650 until his death.<sup>1</sup> Beyond that little is known with certainty of this enigmatic individual, considered in his day one of the greatest composers for the viol.<sup>2</sup> Surviving shreds of evidence yield a portrait as much impressionist mask as true likeness.<sup>3</sup> The composer was identified with some regularity as ‘the Englishman’ in contemporary records.<sup>4</sup> Anthony Wood, who assembled notes on English composers while at Oxford in the late seventeenth century, described Young as ‘a great violist, bred in Rome, [who] spent several years there.’<sup>5</sup> ‘Bred in Rome’ may mean, not that he was physically conceived in the Holy See, but that he was raised a Roman Catholic. This would account for his seeking refuge on the continent at the time of the English Civil War, and also explain why biographical records for Young are scarce. Vital statistics kept by the Church of England serve as a starting point for historians seeking biographical information. But recusants often escaped documentation unless they surfaced in lists of those penalized for their very recusancy. Members of

---

<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand Karl was not the Archduke of Austria as he is mistakenly identified in many references, but the Archduke of Innsbruck. There was an Archduke of Austria named Ferdinand, a contemporary and cousin of Ferdinand Karl, and a military leader in the Thirty Years War. The misidentification may be traced to Young’s publisher, Michael Wagner of Innsbruck, if not to Young himself, for the dedication of Young’s 1653 *Sonates* is addressed to “Serenissimo Arciduca Ferdinando Carlo d’Austria.” Ulrich Rappin and Donald Beecher, writing in the preface to *William Young (-1663) Twenty-nine Pieces for Solo Viol* (Canada: Dove House Editions, Viola da gamba series, 46, undated) suggest that Ferdinand Karl encountered Young in the Netherlands when the Archduke was serving as governor there ‘before 1646.’ But Ferdinand Karl played no role in the Spanish Netherlands. This is a case of confusing him with his cousin, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria (Cardinal Infante and brother of Phillip IV of Spain), the actual governor of the Spanish Netherlands from 1633 -1641. See George-Henri Dumont, *Histoire de la Belgique* (Brussels: Le Cri, 1995), 280, 285, 286, 619. Beecher and Rappin also err on the date of Young’s death: it was 1662, not 1663.

<sup>2</sup> Attestation to Young’s stature is found in Jean Rousseau, *Traité de la Viole* (Paris, 1687, facsimile ed. Philippe Lescat and Jean Saint-Arroman, Paris, 1997), 17-18 (hereafter, ‘Rousseau.’) ‘...the English... were the first to compose and play harmonic pieces on the viol, and ... passed this knowledge to other countries, such as Walderan [Walter Rowe] at the court of Saxony, Butler at the Court of Spain, Young with the Count of Innsbruck, Price at Vienna, and several others in diverse places.’ [les] *Anglois ... ont commencé les premiers à composer & à jouer des pièces d’harmonie sur la Viole, & ... en ont porté la connoissance dans les autres Royaumes, tels qu’on esté Walderan à la Cour de Saxe, Boudler à la Cour d’Espagne, Joung auprès du Comte d’Inspruk, Preis à Vienne, & plusieurs autres en différents endroits...* (Translations are my own unless otherwise stated.).

<sup>3</sup> The most comprehensive source of biographical information is Walter Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck* (Innsbruck, 1954) (hereafter, ‘Senn’). Senn (262) places Young in Innsbruck from sometime before 1652 until his death on the 23 April, 1662. He was buried at the St. Jakob Pfarrkirche in Innsbruck. The death is recorded in that institution’s *Totenbuch*, Band V, folio 304v. For the latter information I am grateful to Dr. Josef Franckenstein, Director, Diözesanarchiv, Innsbruck.

<sup>4</sup> He is so identified, for example, in records of the visit of Queen Christina of Sweden to Innsbruck in 1655, and in correspondence by the Tyrolian luthier Jakob Stainer. See below.

<sup>5</sup> Anthony Wood, *Notes on English Musicians* (Oxford University, Bodleian Library, MS Wood.D.19(4)), f. 138. For the civil war period see C.V. Wedgwood, *The King’s Peace, 1637-1641* (London: Collins, 1955) and *The King’s War, 1641-1647* (London: Collins, 1958).

this group, who as a matter of conscience refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the monarch in church affairs, found difficulty in holding any official position, whether at court, in the guilds, the universities, or the grammar schools. Appointment to all such positions required swearing the Oath of Supremacy, which measure was specifically designed to exclude recusants. Given these circumstances and constraints, though Young was known to all in Innsbruck as ‘the Englishman,’ documentation of his life *in* England is all but non-existent. He is a name attached to music in manuscripts, little more. It is necessary then to look for traces of his life where there are surviving records. The search begins in Innsbruck.

To consider first the political and social situation in the middle of the seventeenth century: Innsbruck was the capital of the Tyrol and thus part of the Erblände (the hereditary possessions of the Habsburgs). On a north-south axis it lay between Bavaria and the Veneto; to its west were the Swiss cantons, to the east archduchies such as Styria and Carinthia, plus the domain of the Bishop of Salzburg. Proximate to the Val Telline, it dominated the so-called Spanish Road, used during the Thirty Years War by troops of the Empire bound for the Spanish Netherlands or Vienna.

In 1646 Ferdinand Karl’s minority ended and he became ruler of the Tyrol in his own right. For fourteen years the government had been under the regency of his mother, Claudia de Medici, widow of Archduke Leopold V. 1648 was another notable year in the young ruler’s life. The Treaty of Westphalia put an end to the war, and the dowager Archduchess died. Together these constituted a liberation for Ferdinand Karl.

The Tyrol had largely been spared clashes of armies on its soil, but it was by no means a disinterested bystander during the long conflict. Transiting armies were quartered on its population, already taxed to support the war effort. At issue was territory claimed by opposing religious factions. Armies of the north were Protestant under Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus; those of the south followed the Habsburg champions of the Catholic Church. England, officially neutral, was sympathetic to the Protestant cause. Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of one English King and sister to another, married Frederick, Elector Palatine. His claim to Bohemia and its vote in the Electoral College was the flashpoint giving rise to war in 1618. Frederick, a Calvinist, was a leader on the Protestant side.

Innsbruck lay near the Habsburg seat of strength. Militant Jesuits wielded considerable influence in her government. The See of Trent, center of the Counter-Reformation, was within Ferdinand Karl’s Archduchy, though its Bishop was a Prince in his own right. The Treaty of Westphalia upheld the principle *cuius regio eius religio* – the faith of the ruler determines that of the populace. Given these circumstances William Young would almost certainly have to have been Roman Catholic to work in Innsbruck.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> For background information on the impact of the Thirty Years War, see C.V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (London: The Folio Society, 1999). On the role of the Jesuits within the government of Tyrol, see for example Felizitas Salfinger, *Das Tiroler Landesfürstentum in der ersten Hälfte der Regierungszeit Erzherzog Ferdinand Karls (1646-1654)* (Ph.D dissertation, University of Innsbruck, 1953), p. 3. (Hereafter, “Salfinger.”) Salfinger writes that Ferdinand Karl’s tutor,



At the end of the Thirty Years War Ferdinand Karl seized on the relative quiet to advance the arts. He had acquired a discriminating aesthetic from his mother, and was anxious to make his court a showpiece of music and theater. Walter Senn's study of the arts at Innsbruck contains the most thorough examination of Young's place in history.<sup>7</sup>

Senn places the composer in the Archduke's service from shortly after mid-century until his death in 1662. The date and manner of Young's appointment are unknown, but it was clearly part of the Archduke's effort to inject energy into the aesthetic life of the court.<sup>8</sup>

Senn mentions the luthier Jakob Stainer, who from 1658 onwards made and maintained the court fiddles at Innsbruck.<sup>9</sup> Stainer referred to Young in correspondence over a commission. That the luthier built viols after "the Englishman's instrument" is evidence of high regard for the English school of viol building,<sup>10</sup> but evidence also of esteem for Young. Stainer apparently sought to capitalize on the composer's renown.

Young was among the court retinue on a journey to Italy in 1652. A log was kept by one of the travellers.<sup>11</sup> It has a description of Young playing while the group floated on the Martesianakanal: he was likened to Orpheus playing for Jason and the Argonauts. The instrument is referred to as a "Geige," which could have been a violin or bass viol. Given the constraints of travel the violin may be more likely. Also unclear is whether the "Jungen" accompanying Young was son or valet. The manifest mentions Young as chamber servant rather than "Musici," a significant distinction in that a chamber servant would enjoy greater proximity to the Archduke than a "mere" theatre or chapel musician.<sup>12</sup>

---

Father Wolfgang Gravenegg, continued to exercise considerable influence at court before becoming rector of the Jesuit College (later the University of Innsbruck).

<sup>7</sup> Though increasingly dated, Senn's work is still the most complete and authoritative source of information on Young in Innsbruck.

<sup>8</sup> . Senn (p. 262) suggests Young was engaged at the court from "before 1652." It was only with the end of the Thirty Years War, and with the relative stabilization of power structures that flowed in part from the Counter-Reformation, that the Italian Baroque began to make inroads into Austria. See Herbert Seifert, "Die Entfaltung des Barocks," in *Musikgeschichte Österreichs; Band I: Von den Anfängen bis zum Barock* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, undated), p. 299. (Hereafter, "Seifert.")

<sup>9</sup> On Stainer's prominence, see: Karl Moeser, "Vier Briefe des Geigenmachers Jakob Stainer aus dem Jahre 1678" in *Tiroler Heimat Heft V-VI* (Innsbruck: Verlagsanstalt Tyrolia, 1924), pp. 97-108. Moeser calls Stainer "the father of the German violin." [...des Vaters der deutschen Geige.] The "four letters" mentioned in the title of his article are from Stainer to a church official deputized to purchase a bass viol. On Stainer's employment at the Innsbruck court, see Moeser, p. 101, and Senn, p. 330.

<sup>10</sup> On the popularity of English viols, see Hans Bol, *La Basse de viole du temps de Marin Marais et d'Antoine Forqueray* (Bilthoven: A.B. Creyghton, 1973), p. 19. Bol suggests that Jean Rousseau, in his *Traité de la viole*, and Marin Marais, by virtue of what he left in his estate, both attest to the continental opinion that English makers built the best viols.

<sup>11</sup> The scribe was probably the court counsellor Anton Freiherr von Girardi. (Senn, p. 347.) After the fall of Chancellor Biener, Girardi amassed considerable power and functioned effectively as Chancellor. Thus his recognition of Young is significant. On Girardi's importance, see Salfinger, p. 25.

<sup>12</sup> He would in all likelihood have been restricted to playing in the "presence chamber" as opposed to the private bed chamber. It seems that the servants who had access to the bed

Young traveled together with the composer Cesti to Regensburg in 1654. This brought him into the circle of the Emperor Ferdinand III.<sup>13</sup> Documentation survives of a payment made to Young for playing before Ferdinand, but we lack information on the context. (See figure 1.) Senn suggests the payment was made to an English musician without mentioning Young by name. Though it could have been another man (another musician at court was “Dominicus Anglesi”), Senn thinks it was Young.<sup>14</sup>

Young played in 1655 at receptions to honor Queen Christina of Sweden. She reported favorably on his playing.<sup>15</sup> Christina, heir and successor to the great warrior King Gustavus Adolphus, was Rome-bound after converting from his Lutheran faith.<sup>16</sup>

---

chamber were few in number. Salfinger lists four: first chamberlain, chamber valet, barber, and chamber stoker. Other so-called chamber servants worked at a greater remove, in a more public setting. See Salfinger, p.8.

<sup>13</sup> For the family relations joining Ferdinand Karl to the Emperor Ferdinand III, see Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs* (London: Penguin, 1995), pp. 298-9. The Emperor, a cousin of the Archduke of Innsbruck, had been married to Ferdinand Karl’s sister, Maria Leopoldina, from 1648 until her early death. In 1651 Ferdinand III married Eleonora Gonzaga of Mantua. Seifert writes that Eleonora I, wife of Emperor Ferdinand II, and Eleonora II, wife of Emperor Ferdinand III, exercised considerable influence in bringing the Italian Baroque style to Austria (p. 301). The same author tells us that the Emperor on occasion engaged Cesti for his compositional skills (p. 309). Cesti’s opera “La Cleopatra” was mounted in Innsbruck in 1654 to celebrate the opening of a new opera theater (p. 310). Might the visit of Young and Cesti to Regensburg have had to do with a mounting of the same production there? It’s an attractive supposition, but Seifert finds no evidence of a performance of an opera by Cesti during the visit of the two Innsbruck court musicians to Regensburg, and also finds no further documentation of the appearance of Young before the Emperor. (Private correspondence from Professor Seifert, 9 November, 2000.)

<sup>14</sup> Senn mentions the Regensburg trip in his account of Cesti (p. 256). There is potential for confusion regarding the identity of “Dominicus Anglesi.” A quartermaster’s list for a trip to Regensburg in 1653 lists “Anglesi” in fourth place among musicians, after Rainer, Cesti, and Viviani. (Senn, p. 364.) It is tempting to think that this might have been Young, but one Dominicus Anglesi came to court from Florence as an organist and composer of monodic songs (Senn, p. 262). Documentation of this individual working at the Medici court in Florence is reported in Warren Kirkendale, *Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medici* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1993), pp. 390-93. Anglesi published a set of monodies in Florence in 1635; was appointed to the court of Duke Ferdinand II in 1639; died and was buried in Florence in the early 1670s. Though Kirkendale nowhere reports that Anglesi’s service was interrupted by a stint in Innsbruck, it seems certain that the Anglesi who did serve at Ferdinand Karl’s court was this same man, and not a double for William Young.

<sup>15</sup> Christina had abdicated her throne in 1654, in favour of her cousin, Charles Gustavus, before undertaking this visit, according to the article on her in *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, Revised Edition, J. O. Thorne and T. C. Collocott, eds. (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1984, 1990), pp. 288-9.

<sup>16</sup> Gustavus Adolphus’s role as one of the Habsburg’s fiercest and most effective rivals in the Thirty Years War is described by Wedgewood in *The Thirty Years War*, pp. 233-292. He came close to defeating the armies of the Empire but was killed at the battle of Lützen while fighting the redoubtable Wallenstein.

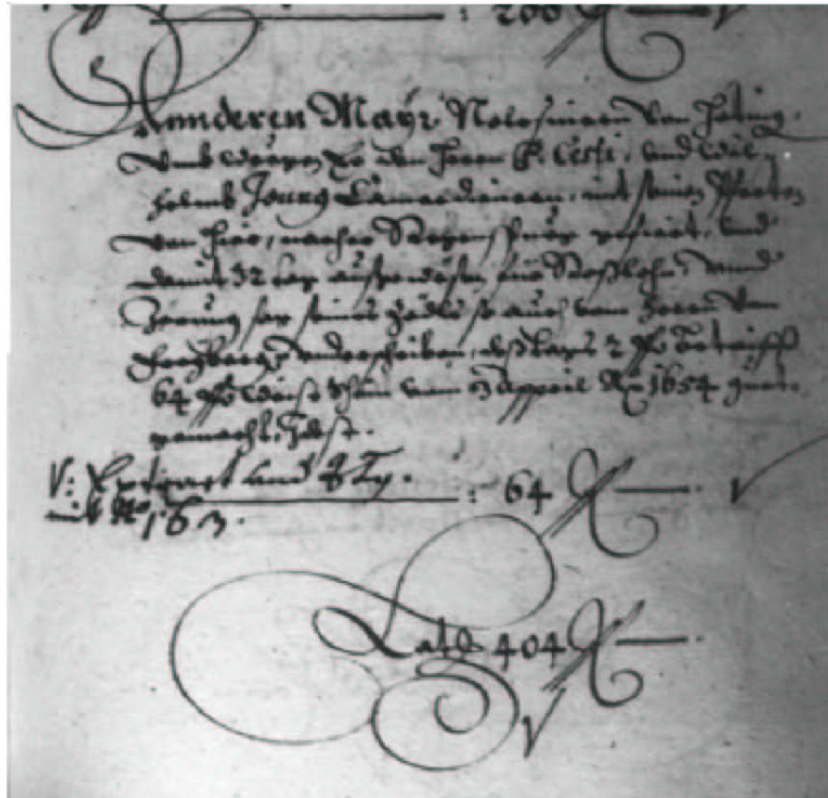


Figure 1. Tiroler Landesarchiv, Kammer Raitbuch 1655, Band 186, f. 788.  
Record of payment of 64 florins to Anderren Mayr, coachman, for  
taking Cesti and Young to Regensburg, April, 1654.<sup>17</sup>

Christina's conversion was a coup for the Catholics so plans were made to mark her stopover in Innsbruck with a momentous celebration. The ten-day period was filled with revelry. A contemporary account notes that upon her arrival she was met

...with Trumpets, Drums, and other loud Musick very fine ... . The next day ... all the time of dinner, was the sweetest harmony of Voices, Lutes, Harpsicals, and other Musick, that ever I heard, the Duke having caused many Eunuchs, that are esteemed the prime of Italy, to be at Court. When the Fruit and Banqueting-stuff came to the Table, the D[uke] caused a Treble and Base-Viol to play together, which was in my Judgement most excellent: He that plaid upon the Base-Viol was an Englishman, esteemed the best in Europe, named Mr You[n]g ...<sup>18</sup>

Another account describes Christina at the dinner where Young played:

<sup>17</sup> I gratefully acknowledge the Tiroler Landesarchiv for providing me with copies of the images in Figures 1 and 2 to reproduce, and other generous assistance.

<sup>18</sup> Cited in Michael Tilmouth, "Music and British Travellers Abroad, 1600- 1730" in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, Ian Bent, ed. (London: Stainer and Bell, 1981), p. 372. Tilmouth cites *Mercurius Politicus* (British Library, Burney Collection of Newspapers, vol. xlviii, for 29 November, 1655). Another visitor, the merchant John Bargrave, reports being told by a court musician ("an Englishman" so presumably Young) that the celebrations cost "30,000 English pounds." (Tilmouth, p. 373.)

After eating, the Archduchess remained at the table where they'd eaten, while the Archduke stood alone next to the musicians, his head uncovered; but the Queen passed to and fro, as if she was dancing, and she marvelled at the instruments ... in sum she showed in all her bearing, that the music gave her such contentment, but especially that of Clemente [Antoni], a castrato, of the Englishman [William Young] with the viola da gamba, and of Roberto [Sabbatini] with the small violin.<sup>19</sup>

Young sold a medal to the Archduke in 1657 for 175 florins (figure 2).<sup>20</sup> This figure represented several months' pay. His salary was 600 florins annually, the top of the scale for musicians. Above him at court was Kapellmeister Ambrosius Rainer, who later took a similar position under the Emperor for less money.<sup>21</sup> One wonders why the musician was selling a medal to the Archduke. It may indicate an acute need for cash. Court employees experienced chronic difficulties collecting their pay. Franz Steiner reports that the court ran a deficit six times between 1654-1662, spending twenty per cent beyond what it took in.<sup>22</sup> Though 1657 was not a deficit year, that may have meant only that the Archduke for once had money in his pocket to buy the medal back.

The medal is referred to as a "gulden Kötten" (i.e. "Ketten", a golden chain), a term used elsewhere for gifts the Archduke gave to favourites. Young was probably in the unfortunate position of having to exchange one of the Archduke's gifts for cash to tide himself and his family over. Ferdinand Karl was liberal with such gifts. These are described in evocative terms by David von Schönherr:

---

<sup>19</sup> Cited in Senn, p. 288: [*"Nach der Tafel lainete die Erzherzogin sich an den Tisch, alhwo man gessen hatte, beede Erzherzoge stunden allein mit den Kuplein auf dem Kopf neben der Musica, die Königin aber passagierte auf und ab, als ob sie danzete, und geling lainte si sich auf das Instrument, in summa erzäigte in allen ibren Geberten, die Musica gebe dero ein großes Contento, absonderlich der Clemente [Antoni], ein Castrato, der Engellender [=Wilhelm Young] mit der Viola di gamba und der Roberto [Sabbatini] mit der kleinen Geigen."*]

<sup>20</sup> See figure 2. Young received 175 florins for a golden chain previously given him by the Archduke. Apparently it enabled him to pay back a loan from the Chamberlain.

<sup>21</sup> Rainer received only 500 florins at the court of the Emperor. Senn, p. 248. The latter writes (p. 255) that the salary of chamber musicians was higher than chapel musicians, "rising to 600 florins; over which many favorites received an additional living and housing allowance of 230 florins." [*"...erreicht bis zu 600 fl; daneben werden manchem Favoriten als Kostgeld und Hauszins noch 230 fl bezahlt."*] The Superintendent of the Chamber Music, Viviani, received the "princely sum" of 700 florins in salary for 1660. See Franz Steiner, *Geschichte Tirols zur Zeit Erzherzog Ferdinand Karls (2. Hälfte seiner Regierungszeit: 1655-1662)*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Innsbruck, 1961), p.50. (Hereafter, "Steiner.") Steiner calls Young "*Instrumental-Virtuose und Schauspieler*" (the latter could mean actor, or perhaps, pit musician in the opera house), but cites no evidence that he worked other than as a chamber musician. Some visiting artists received higher pay: the Venetian Anna Renzini received 900 florins for 43 weeks in 1553-54, not counting gifts. (Senn, p. 266.) Adolph Sandberger places Cesti's salary at 900 florins, rising to 3000 in 1656. See "Beziehungen der Königin Christine von Schweden zur Italienischen Oper und Musik, insbesondere zu M.A. Cesti, mit einem Anhang über Cestis Innsbrucker Aufenthalt" in *Bulletin de la Societe Union Musicologique* VI/2, 1925, p.157. But Cesti may have had to pay the expenses of other musicians out of his salary.

<sup>22</sup> Steiner, p. 525.

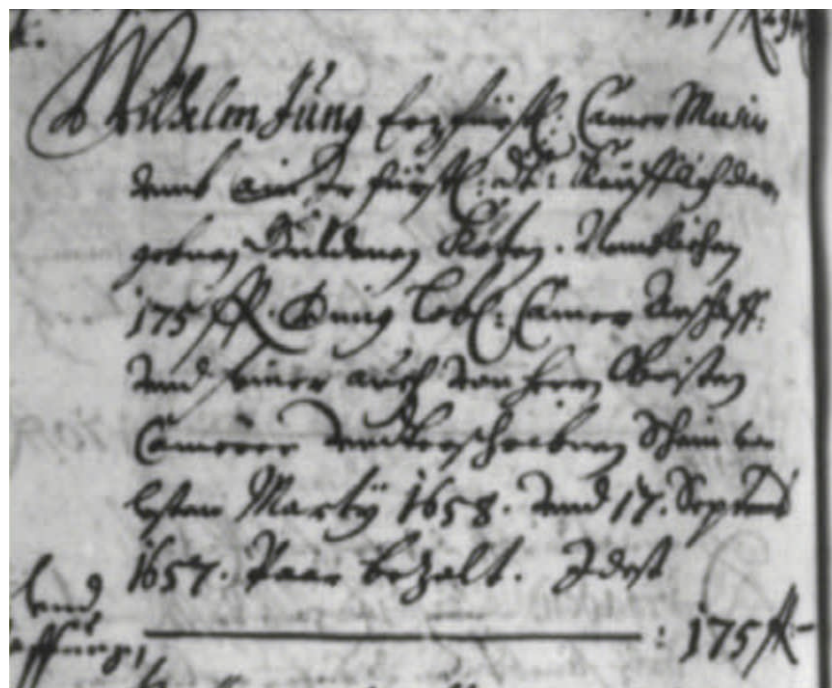


Figure 2. Tiroler Landesarchiv. Kammer Raitbuch, 1658, Band 190, fol. 159'.  
Record of the sale of a golden medal by William Young to the  
Archduke, for 175 florins. Dated 17 September, 1657.

The prince drew the nobility about with glittering ceremony, constantly distributing favors. Without qualitatively improving these, he increased their number from year to year. As the swallow follows the summer, priests and nobility followed their generous, happy lord, and full of awe and admiration, threw reflected light back on the bright path of the prince. As the prince sated the appetites of his guests with piquant sauces, so in exchange the lucky ones whispered the sweetest flattery in the ear of the gracious lord. At each festival there was a soft rainfall of bejewelled, shining gold rings. 'They give from the fount, as befits a prince' was the motto of Ferdinand Karl, for he lived under the symbol of an upended horn of plenty, from which fell pieces of gold, precious stones, rings and chains, such as the golden rain of Jupiter fell down on the shining Danae. For him gold was only there for giving to people ...<sup>23</sup>

But against the generous impulses of the Archduke there worked the abysmal finances of his principality. The Austrian Tyrol along with the rest of Europe had borne a heavy economic burden through the Thirty Years War, so much so that when marriage negotiations were undertaken for the young Ferdinand Karl in 1639, there was no money to offer in security, which limited his choice of brides.<sup>24</sup> The Tyrol paid an especially heavy price under the Treaty of Westphalia, when the Emperor ceded Alsace to the French crown. This had been a Tyrolian possession, but with no advance consultation, Ferdinand Karl

<sup>23</sup> David von Schönherr, *Gesammelte Schriften II Band* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1902), pp. 665-66.

<sup>24</sup> Salfinger, pp. 5-6. Early negotiations to bring about a marriage between Ferdinand Karl and a princess of Poland foundered when, in lieu of a dowry, Innsbruck could only offer mortgages on fixed assets and future revenue, but no cash.

was presented with a *fait accompli*. Loss of the territory meant loss of both income and prestige. But the slights did not end there. Where the French crown was to pay Innsbruck 3 million “*Tour’sche Lire*” for title, this money too was withheld. Thus Innsbruck paid twice for the privilege of bailing out the Empire after the long war. Ferdinand Karl struggled to recover his revenue. France eventually did pay some of the money owed, but that came about only during the reign of Sigmund Franz, brother and successor to Young’s patron.<sup>25</sup>

Young received leave and expenses to depart for England on 26 August 1660, coincident with the Restoration of Charles II.<sup>26</sup> The timing suggests once again that he was both a Royalist and a Catholic, and that his absence from England was attributable to conflict with Cromwell. There do not seem to be any records of contacts between Young and members of the incoming administration. If he did seek work in England, documentation has not come to light.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> 25. Steiner, pp. 514-524. Throughout Steiner’s study of the second half of Ferdinand Karl’s reign, a recurring refrain is “there was no money available...” regardless of what was being proposed. This applies to everything from shoring up the defenses of the country, to paying the daily grocery bill. Salfinger suggests that the problem was attributable to Ferdinand Karl’s lack of skill as a financial administrator. See Salfinger, p.4: “He brought his land to financial ruin, notwithstanding the constant economic trouble of the Tirol after the 30 Years War.” [“*Er brachte sein Land an einen finanziellen Angrund, ungeachtet der ständigen wirtschaftlichen Bemühungen, die Tirol nach dem 30 jährigen Kriege machte.*”]

<sup>26</sup> Senn, p. 262. Charles II took ship from the Hague on 23 May 1660 for his return to England. Pepys describes the scene in his *Diary*, Vol. I (London: Folio Society, 1996), p. 49 ff. The coronation took place on April 23, 1661. Charles’s return would naturally be followed by the creation of a ceremonial household with positions of all kinds to be filled. Young might well have hoped for employment. If so his hopes were in vain. The William Young who joined the King’s Music was not the composer from Innsbruck nor apparently a relative. David Lasocki has traced the roots of this other Young in an article for *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714*, Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, eds. (Aldershot and Brookfield: Ashgate, 1998). The English court musician was appointed to a position for a violin player on 12 December, 1661 (backdated to Midsummer, 1660). This Young was the son of a Thomas Young of Ripon, Yorkshire, and had served an apprenticeship in the Farriers Company. There has long been confusion as to whether all the music attributed to William Young was by the Innsbruck musician, or whether some could have been by this English court servant. But no evidence has surfaced suggesting that Charles II’s employee composed music. In any event, Ferdinand Karl’s chamber musician returned to Innsbruck in 1660, and died there two years later.

<sup>27</sup> One wonders whether his purpose in this trip was to make arrangements to leave an estate for his family. The Public Records Office in London has documents relating to the deaths in 1662 or 1663 of three individuals named William Young. Of these, one is a will made out by a weaver on the 14th of August, 1662 (1663, *Probate 11, 311*, p.276). Clearly this is not by the composer: the occupation is wrong, and it was made out after the death of the musician. A second document relates to the death of a William Young, clerk, who died intestate (administrative record only, 1663, *Probate 6, 38*). A third will, made out on the 28th March, 1662, was proven in September of that year (1662, *Probate 11, 309*, p.276). It pertained to a William Young, “yeoman,” leaving an estate in the county of Sussex (“which I lately purchased of William Smith”) to a son, Thomas. Anglican parish records document this family as having roots in Sussex near Lewes, but pertinent records for the years spanning the mid-century are missing. Nor was I able to locate records showing property changing hands in Young’s favor in 1660. Thus there is insufficient evidence to infer that this will was that of the musician. Tantalizingly, it seems that the Nicholas Yonge who brought out *Musica Transalpina* towards the end of the sixteenth century came originally from the town of Lewes in the same county. It

Senn mentions Eitner's citations of Young's works. Further information appears elsewhere in this paper, but the "pieces in collections" of 1651, 1652, 1661 and 1669 must refer to anthologies by Playford.<sup>28</sup> Pieces in "manuscripts in the music school at Oxford" may have been any of these: for lyra viol in *Oxford Bodleian MS Mus Sch F. 573*; for bass viol in *MS Mus Sch F. 574*; for two basses or lyras in *MS Mus Sch D.233,236*, and *E.451*; for several viols and/or violins in *MS Mus Sch E. 447-49*, *D.249*, and *E.415-8*. While none of these sources sheds light on Young's biography, it is indicative of his stature among his countrymen that his music was not only copied in numerous manuscripts for private use, but identified in those manuscripts as his.

Young's circumstances may be further illuminated by a closer look at the character of his employer. Ferdinand Karl was not gifted as a ruler: he had little patience for the detail of administration. But his generosity as patron of the arts is clear. When he assumed office his frivolousness dismayed a court official, who saw a future filled with only "Masques, comedies, balls, and nothing else."<sup>29</sup> The following characterization is telling:

The happy-go-lucky nature of Ferdinand Karl, our second-to-last Tyrolian prince, can hardly be explained otherwise, than as a function of his lively character. [He was] a stranger to all gravity, as a result of his mother's Italian blood, and his woefully incomplete (albeit pious) education. His story is solely a chronicle of joyous festivals and pleasant travels. Tournaments and similar knightly games, theatre, music, banquets, festive processions, mummering, hunts, balls and skating days proliferated at his court in rapid succession and great number. The care for these seems to have been the only burden of the light crown. So completely did the young man, bounding from the throne into the tomb, depart from the sober types of the older Habsburgs. He didn't know the serious side of life, and didn't want to know it. He avoided uncomfortable situations as much as he could, and banished the bloody, spectral incidents [of the Thirty Years War] through the aid of festivals replete with fanfares.<sup>30</sup>

---

would be fascinating if the two musicians sprang from the same line. But this can probably be ruled out, for the individual making out this will identified himself as "residing" in Sussex, which weighs heavily against his being the composer of the same name.

<sup>28</sup> The article on Young in the *Dictionary of National Biography* mentions that several pieces of his for lyra viol were included in Playford collections published in 1651, 1652, 1661 and 1669. A copy of the article was supplied to me in personal correspondence from the East Sussex Record Office dated 22 August, 2000. An account of John Playford's music publishing can be read in D. W. Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553-1700* (London: the Bibliographical Society, 1975), pp. 113-127. Krummel writes that Playford alone accounted for two-thirds of all English music to appear in print during his career.

<sup>29</sup> [*Maschere, commedie, balli e nient'altro.*] Quoted in Jutta Höpfel, *Innsbruck : Residenz der alten Musik* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1989), p. 81. Chancellor Biener, the official in question, might have done well to keep silent. Before many years went by he would be dead, executed on a trumped-up charge of treason. See Salfinger, pp. 20-23. She writes that Biener's downfall was "judicial murder" and calls it a "dark stain on the history of the Tirol."

<sup>30</sup> Schönherr, pp. 664-665. Ferdinand Karl is seemingly disparaged as an intellectual lightweight on account of his "Italian" blood. This is unfair, but the point of his parentage is of interest. His mother Claudia was a daughter, sister, and aunt of Grand Dukes of Florence, and also first cousin of Maria de Medici, wife of Henry IV of France, herself mother to and regent for Louis XIII. Claudia was regent for Ferdinand Karl from 1632 to 1646, a time when, writes Höpfel, "the Innsbruck court [was] married to Italy, and notably to the artistic tastes of Florence." (Höpfel, p. 81.) Young may have come to Innsbruck via Italy, where he says he went to "study" (statement in a letter "to Professors of Music" that accompanied Young's



Making due allowances for the florid style of writing, it is clear from this that Ferdinand Karl was more taken with the lighter side of life than with the task of ruling. Though Innsbruck was at odds with France, Versailles set the cultural standard that all of Europe followed.<sup>31</sup> The Archduke reveled in his role as leader in this kind of informal cultural competition. He engaged the best artists available. Steiner writes:

The vagaries of history, [when] squeezed into a fixed system, don't clearly reveal how the accomplishments of one man are concentrated in one domain, of another in another domain; but we can judge Ferdinand Karl impartially in recognizing that his service was limited to the cultural sector. To this area he brought the assistance of the Innsbruck court, thanks to his strong personal sympathy for the arts. He was able to make of his residence city an important meeting place for artistic masters.<sup>32</sup>

Though Ferdinand Karl inherited the aesthetics of a Medici from his mother,

...[his] tastes were in no way unilaterally oriented towards the Italian. This goes equally for theater and music as for the style of painting and art at court. It goes for the nationality of musicians, actors, painters and artisans. Given the geographical situation there were intermingled the remnants of the Renaissance and early Baroque native art, alongside the influence of Versailles. From all sides the Prince drew artists and artistic schools of the first rank.<sup>33</sup>

But if the court glittered the price was high, and it was paid not out of the prince's treasury but with his people's dime. Steiner continues:

His enormous personal expenses, his passion for magnificent festivals, for music, theater and travel, the bloated court and liberal handouts for church interests, for artists, entertainers and charlatans, all drained not only his own pockets but also those of the people. He believed that to reinforce the central cultural position of his land, he had to look on all sides in order to bring here whatever appeared to be modern.<sup>34</sup>

The Archduke was intensely aware of developments at other courts. Europe looked to the English school of bass viol playing as the epitome of the art. The French national André Maugars, writing from Rome in 1639, reports that while no-one in Italy excelled any longer, all acknowledged the excellent playing of

---

*Sonate* for three viols, 1659, see below). An Italian sojourn could help account for his early use of the term "sonata."

<sup>31</sup> Steiner, p. 513: "...every act of the Sun King was taken as a model, even by the smallest of princes of the Empire, whether it was the style of diplomacy, the economic programme, or the pompous, wasteful court protocol. Whatever Paris did, had to be emulated, whether one could afford it or not. There was no questioning whether it was worthwhile, or to whose benefit: what finally had to suffice as a rationale was that it was a 'cold war.'"

<sup>32</sup> Steiner, p. 48.

<sup>33</sup> Steiner, p. 49. While Steiner suggests that artists of diverse nationalities were engaged by the court, there was apparently some specialization. Italian musicians dominated in the theatre, German in the chapel, according to Seifert, p. 310.

<sup>34</sup> Steiner, pp. 35-36. [*"Sein riesiger persönlicher Aufwand, seine Vorliebe für prunkvolle Feste, für Musik, Theater und Reisen, der aufgeblähte Hofstaat und offene Hand für kirchliche Belange, für Künstler, Gaukler und Scharlatane zehrten am eigenen Vermögen und dem des Volkes. Er glaubte, der zentralen Stellung seines Landes dadurch gerecht zu werden, daß er nach allen Seiten hin Ausschau hielt, um dasjenige hernach zu machen, was irgendwo "modern" zu sein schien."*]



English violists.<sup>35</sup> Maugars impressed others with his own playing which was patterned after the English style. Five decades later, Rousseau's fanciful history related that the bass viol passed from Italians (its supposed originators – though Rousseau was in error on this point) to the English, who developed the harmonic style of play and then taught this style to other nations.<sup>36</sup>

Rousseau specifically cites “Joung auprès du Comte d’Inspruk” as one of the transmitters of the style to the continent. Ferdinand Karl would certainly have found in “the Englishman” a jewel among viol players to grace his own crown.

A journal entry mentions a meeting between the composer and the merchant Bargrave (a viol player), who relates that Young showed him a viol he had “invented.”

I went to receive a most pleasing entertainment of Musique from Mr William Young, Groome of the bed-chamber and cheife Violist to the Archduke, espetially on an Octo-cordall Viall of his own Invention, apted for the Lira way of playing, farr beyond those with six strings only; to which favour he added his promise to give me his lessons composed for that Viall, and his Aires for two Bases and a Treble, which he intends to publish.<sup>37</sup>

Unfortunately no literature for this instrument survives. All extant works for lyra viol by Young require six strings. Nor have any works for two basses and a treble survived.

But Young was determined to be acknowledged as the inventor of the “Octocordall Viall,” and dismayed that another should receive credit for this novelty. He pressed his claim in a publication of sonatas for three viols, printed by Michael Wagner of Innsbruck in 1659. Until recently these works were known only from manuscripts, but a print copy of the treble part has been discovered. In an introduction, Young notes that Kircher had wrongly credited “Comus of Somerset” with the invention of the instrument. When corrected, Kircher acknowledged his error and gave credence to Young’s claim. Young backs his tale with a letter from Kircher (included in the print).<sup>38</sup>

From the available information it is clear that Young was a prized asset at the court in Innsbruck, but also that his life there was not free from difficulty. He sought opportunities elsewhere. In the print of his trios for 3 viols he includes a dedication to the Prince Archbishop of Salzburg, mentioning a patronage relationship. This may suggest he was looking to move to that individual’s court. Moreover, it seems likely that his trip to England near the end of his life was a way of testing the waters towards a possible return.

Clearly the “Englishman” was not quite at ease in Innsbruck.

---

<sup>35</sup> “Maugar’s ‘Response Faite à un Curieux sur le Sentiment de la Musique d’Italie,’” *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* VIII (1971), pp. 11, 16.

<sup>36</sup> Rousseau, *Traité de la Viole*, pp. 17-18. See also note 2 above.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in Michael Tilmouth, “Music on the Travels of an English Merchant: Robert Bargrave (1628-61),” *Music and Letters* 53 (1972), pp.156-7.

<sup>38</sup> *Sonate à 3 Viole* (Innsbruck: Michael Wagner, 1659). The first of three part books, the only surviving trace of the print apparently, is in the collection of Count Goëss, Schloß Ebenthal, Carinthia, Austria. I am grateful to Marc Struemper of Vienna who drew my attention to its existence.

## II – The situation in England

When he broke with Rome in 1533, Henry VIII could not have known for how long and thoroughly his action would bedevil England's domestic and foreign policy.<sup>39</sup>

The Civil War of the 1640s was part of the aftermath. Cromwell's Puritans feared that Charles would adopt his wife's Catholicism, undoing one hundred years of Reformation history. Charles's supporters, Catholic or high-born Anglican, feared that under the Puritans their own situation would grow more perilous.<sup>40</sup> Though public opinion opposed continued blood-letting for a fault no greater than opposed religious views, the losing side had reason to doubt its security under the new Protector.

The first two Stuart monarchs resisted Parliamentary efforts to assist in the articulation of domestic and foreign policy. Finding that legislative assemblies wanted a role beyond that of mere banker, monarchs dissolved successive Parliaments and attempted to govern without summoning either House again. Under James the attempt lasted from 1611 to 1621, under Charles from 1627-1641.<sup>41</sup> Official England was insolvent and thus unable to project a coherent foreign policy into the continental arena and overseas for most of this period. Nobility and gentry alike grew frustrated and embittered. But frustration and bitterness alone do not suffice to set off a revolution.

Charles had to thoroughly antagonize and alienate most blocs before the populace rebelled. Catholics, though frustrated, remained allies of the King; but Puritans, Parliamentarians all, opposed him on several grounds, chiefly among them, his imposition of Laud's Order of Worship, and his attempt to exact "ship money" without a Parliamentary mandate.<sup>42</sup> When the King was overthrown, Catholics feared the zeal of the Puritans, and this probably drove Young to remove himself to the Continent.

Young remains a shadowy figure, sufficiently so, that his motivation for leaving England remains in the realm of speculation. Few traces of the composer have been found in his native country beyond the music itself. Part of the problem, earlier mentioned, is that were he of a recusant family, he would not show up in records kept by the Church of England. Compounding the difficulty is that, for the Commonwealth period, even these records are

---

<sup>39</sup> For an account of Henry's divorce and the establishing of the English Church, see G.R. Elton, *England Under the Tudors* (London: The Folio Society, 1997; after Routledge, Third Edition, 1991). Chapter 5 ("The King's Great Matter") deals in turn with "The Origins of the Divorce" (pp.99-102) and "State and Church in England" (pp.103-116).

<sup>40</sup> This history is related in Wedgwood, *The King's Peace, 1637-1641* and *The King's War, 1641-1647*. (See note 5 above.)

<sup>41</sup> For the years without Parliaments, see G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts* (London: Folio Society, 1996) (hereafter, "Trevelyan"): under James I, p. 95; under Charles I, p.139 and p. 169.

<sup>42</sup> The antagonism against the imposition of the Anglican service was greatest among Calvinists in Scotland. Their resistance generated the Covenant, a document which most of Scotland signed, pledging resistance to Laud and Charles over the religious question. See Trevelyan, p. 166. The resistance to ship money was led by several men who became leaders in the Long Parliament, notably John Hampden. See Trevelyan, p. 163.

discontinuous. It may however be useful to point out places where few or no leads are to be found, or available information is ambiguous at best.

Musicians had a limited number of avenues in which to pursue advanced training.

These included apprenticeship with a guild member, city or town wait; membership in a department of the King's Musick; sponsorship in the private home of a member of the nobility or the well-to-do; service in the church as chorister or singing clerk; formal or casual training in the Universities or Inns of Court; or tutelage at a school or college run by one of the Catholic orders. Each of these prospects may be considered briefly.

Lists of musical apprentices in London guilds contain no reference that may be linked to the William Young of Innsbruck.<sup>43</sup> Nor does his name occur in records of the musicians attached to the English court.<sup>44</sup> Records of domestic accounts of the nobility and well-to-do, when they are available for public consultation, tend to be scattered among various libraries, and for the most part the present author has not been able to check these. However, a name search in indexes to collections cataloged by the Historical Manuscripts Commission (U. K.) turned up no references to a William Young receiving musical training in any private home.<sup>45</sup>

If Young was a Catholic, that would reduce the likelihood that he received training within the Church of England. Outstanding musicians were routinely seconded to the royal musical establishment. Young was demonstrably outstanding, so it would be surprising if he was active in a provincial church or cathedral and did *not* secure a position in the Chapel Royal. But there is no evidence placing him in that august body.<sup>46</sup>

Records of those matriculating in Oxford and Cambridge in this era mention numerous individuals named Young, but none of these can be identified with the musician at Innsbruck.<sup>47</sup> This is true also for records of Middle Temple at the Inns of Court.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> David Lasocki has studied these records, for a study as yet unpublished. He revealed in private correspondence and conversation (April, 2001) that the guild records show no trace of the Young who was the composer for the viols. Lasocki cites documentation for another William Young, taken into Charles II's household as a flute (later violin) player at the Restoration. See *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians*, Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, eds. (Aldershot and Brookfield: Ashgate, 1998), under the heading "Young, William."

<sup>44</sup> This statement is based on a search of the indexes contained in Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music* (8 volumes, Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1986-96).

<sup>45</sup> The Historical Manuscripts Commission maintains a website at <hmc.gov.uk>.

<sup>46</sup> See note 44 above. Members of the royal musical establishment would have had to take the Oath of Supremacy, designed to weed out recusants. That said, certainly some royal musicians retained sympathies, or more substantial ties, with the older church. William Byrd is the obvious example.

<sup>47</sup> Lists of those matriculating at the Universities were consulted at the Public Records Office in London. These are found in, respectively, John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1927) and Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis* (London: OUP, 1891). A small amount of biographical information is provided for many of the names, but no candidate that could readily be equated with the subject of this study is found in either source. Some interesting individuals with the surname Young do

Recusant families in England had contact with the various Catholic orders. The Society of Jesus maintained a number of priests who inevitably led a phantom existence.

One study documents a family of considerable antiquity named Young, a couple of whom had high positions at the court of James I. Richard Young was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber and received a knighthood, while his brother John became a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. There do not appear to have been any musicians named William in this line.<sup>49</sup>

Jesuit schools at St. Omer and Douay in the Spanish Netherlands were places where English Catholics placed their youth for religious upbringing. Jesuits commonly included musical training in the curriculum, as it was thought a useful adjunct for clandestine services back home. The question of whether the famous violist received training at either of these schools can't be answered with finality. On the whole it seems unlikely.<sup>50</sup> Nor can his name be traced in the English College in Rome. Other Catholic orders were inactive in England

---

appear in these lists. Any of the following, were they of the same family as the musician, might have been in a position to provide him with an entree to the higher social circles:

Patrick Young, M.A. 1620 at Cambridge, later Keeper of the King's Library and a secretary for foreign correspondence at St. James; John Young, M.A. 1633 at Cambridge, at some point apparently a "chaplain to the King" though no information is given on which king (this man apparently had a brother named William who obtained an M.A. from Cambridge in 1633 and went on to become Master of Camberwell Grammar School in Surrey); another John Young, brother of Patrick, M.A. at Cambridge in 1606, later D.D., became Prebendary of Wells in 1611 and later Chancellor there, Dean of Winchester in 1616; James Young, D.Med. 1642-3 at Oxford, apparently a son of the Dean of Winchester. The Oxford rolls also contain the names of the same Patrick Young (later Keeper of the King's Library) and John Young (later Dean of Winchester) mentioned above. There are as many as 18 William Youngs at Cambridge in the period extending from the late sixteenth through the seventeenth century, and at least 6 more at Oxford. But seemingly none of these is our man.

<sup>48</sup> Charles Trice Martin, ed., *Middle Temple Records* (London, n.d.)

<sup>49</sup> The story of the Young family mentioned here is in Henry Foley, S.J., *Records of the English Province, S.J. Vol. I* (London: Burnes and Oates, 1877). The family married into the Constable-Maxwell family that held land on the estate of the Dukes of Norfolk. Papers of the Constable-Maxwell family are at the University of Hull, U.K. Apparently they do not contain any reference to a William Young, musician. (Private correspondence with an archivist at the University, Ms. Victoria Turrell, May, 2001.)

<sup>50</sup> 50. Records of St. Omer have been published in various volumes of the *Catholic Record Society*. Indexes to these volumes show no mention of a William Young. A John Young does appear (Vol. I, p.212 and elsewhere *passim*), who apparently had an introduction to lute playing while living with an uncle in London. This John Young later turned up at the English College. The records for Douay were largely lost when the college was closed in 1793 (information contained in private correspondence from Dr. Alistair MacGregor, Librarian at Ushaw College, Durham, U.K. dated 9 February, 2001). There is some information on activities at Douay available in print, however, in *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay* (London: David Nutt, Strand 1878, part of a series, "Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws, Chiefly from the Archives of the See of Westminster"). Apparently an Englishman named Guilielmus Yonghus (i.e. William Young) matriculated in 1605. It is just conceivable that this could have been the man who later turned up in Innsbruck. If Young was 75 when he died in Innsbruck in 1662, he would have been born in 1587, and could thus have matriculated at Douay at the age of eighteen in 1605. Available information does not permit the identification. The Third, Fourth, and Fifth volumes of the Douay College Diaries are in Volume II of *The Catholic Record Society*. On p. 569 is a mention of a "Mr. Young" from Yorkshire.

after the Henrician Reformation, or in any event less active than the Jesuits, so they present fewer possibilities for leads.<sup>51</sup>

Indexes of names in the British Public Records Office's Calendar of State Papers (Domestic and Foreign) contain no clear matches for the Innsbruck musician. A tantalizing but inconclusive bit of information does appear in lists of "Licences to Go Abroad" from 1651. A licence was issued on July 6 to "William Jhones and William Young, his servant, to Holland". Though no further information is available on this William Young, passage through Holland in 1651 does fit the time frame by which he appeared in service in Innsbruck. Further research might prove fruitful in this area.<sup>52</sup>

At present it is not possible to determine how Young came to be a musician of such stature. It is likely that he was recognized early as possessing unusual talent, and was taken into a well-to-do Catholic home for training in his art. Conceivably, he was later sent abroad to further his education. In the event that this came about before the fall of Charles I, he would perhaps have found it prudent to remain overseas. If his travels took him to Florence, he might there have come to the attention of the Medicis, and been passed along to serve at the court of their relative in Innsbruck. Further research, or sheer chance, may bring more biographical information to light.<sup>53</sup> But for now the man remains shrouded in considerable mystery. Fortunately, his music is less guarded with its secrets.

---

<sup>51</sup> Lists of names of students were consulted during a visit to the archives of the English College in Rome. No William Young appears among them. In personal correspondence (13 January, 2001) Father Bede Bailey, Archivist to the Order of Preachers (Dominicans), writes "So far as the English Dominicans are concerned, we barely existed after the dissolution of the monasteries, c. 1538, until the 1650's when we started up again under the inspiration of Philip Thomas Howard, grandson of the collector Earl of Arundel." Writing (personal letter, 22 January 2001) for the Benedictine order which maintained a school at Downside Abbey, Father Phillip Jebb, Archivist suggests that the lists for the 17th century, while very incomplete, reveal only one reference to a William Young, from 1677. The Augustinian order was "wiped out" at the Reformation, not yet restored by the seventeenth century, according to Michael B. Hackett, O.S.A., Archivist for the Order of St. Augustine, Province of England and Scotland at St Mary's Priory (personal letter, 1 November, 2000).

<sup>52</sup> The pass or licence to go abroad is indexed under Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Commonwealth 3, 1651, p. 530, under "Warrants from the Council of State and Admiralty Committee."

<sup>53</sup> In correspondence with Kircher (cited elsewhere in this paper), Young disputed Kircher's contention that a certain "Comus of Somerset" had invented the "octochordal viol." If "Comus" stands for "Duke" or "Earl," it would raise several possibilities for further research. *Chambers Biographical Dictionary* (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1984) contains an entry under "Worcester" for an Edward Somerset, Duke and Second Marquis of Worcester (c. 1601-67), a lifelong tinkerer, credited with the invention of a steam engine among other things. He spent some time during the Civil War years as an emissary of Charles I, and though he eventually fell out of Royal favour, he was not of Cromwell's persuasion, for he went into exile in France after 1648. Somerset later returned to England and took his place in Parliament as a peer at the Restoration. Further biographical information in Henry Dircks, *Life, Times and Scientific Labours of the Second Marquis of Worcester* (London: Quaritch, 1865), and Henry Dircks, *Worcestersiana* (London: Quaritch, 1866).

## REVIEWS

### John Jenkins: Consort Music

CHRISTOPHER D. S. FIELD

*John Jenkins. Consort Music of Three Parts.* Transcribed and edited by Andrew Ashbee. Musica Britannica, 70. (London: Stainer & Bell, 1997.) Score, £71-50 (ISBN 0 85249 839 x).

*John Jenkins. Fantasia-Suites: I.* Transcribed and edited by Andrew Ashbee. Musica Britannica, 78. (London: Stainer & Bell, 2001.) Score, £80-00 (ISBN 0 85249 866 7).

Sets of partbooks for all the music in these volumes are published by Stainer & Bell, under the catalogue references H396 and H 397 (for MB 70) and H 432 and H 433 (for MB 78). A special discount of 10% is available to members of the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain and the Viola da Gamba Society of America.

Looking back thirty years, I see that I ended a review of the edition by Richard Nicholson and Andrew Ashbee of Jenkins's six-part consort music with this wish:

As Jenkins's tercentenary approaches it is greatly to be hoped that this edition will stimulate not only study but also performances of the music, and that it will be followed by similar editions of other sections of his output such as his twenty-seven fantasias for one treble and two bass viols with organ, or his nine superb and supremely demanding fantasia-suites for the same instruments.<sup>1</sup>

Since then, of course, we have marked not only the 300th anniversary of Jenkins's death but also the 400th of his birth — the latter coinciding with Book I of Andrew Ashbee's two-volume study *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*; its eagerly-awaited sequel, which will deal (amongst other things) with the fantasia-suites, is reported to be in the press. In 1977 the prospect of anything like a complete critical edition of Jenkins being published in one's lifetime seemed pretty remote. Nevertheless the passing years have seen a remarkable amount achieved, thanks above all to the quiet determination and dedication of Dr Ashbee. Several publishing firms have played a part, including Faber Music, PRB Productions and Fretwork, but increasingly significant has been the involvement of the Musica Britannica Trust and its publishers, Stainer & Bell. The first Jenkins volume to feature in this prestigious 'national collection of music' was devoted to four-part consort music (Musica Britannica 26), and appeared as long ago as 1969; its editor was Ashbee. While retaining vestiges of the anthologizing approach previously regarded by the editorial committee of the series as the fittest way to treat the vast unpublished repertory of English chamber music, it remains important for

---

<sup>1</sup> *Music & Letters* 58 (1977), 489-91.

its inclusion of the 32 Ayres and the 8 fantasia-suites for two trebles, two bass viols and organ in their entirety.

Two more volumes of Jenkins from Dr. Ashbee's trustworthy editorial hands have now been added to the series. MB 70 opens with his 27 fantasias and one pavan for treble, two bass viols and organ—thus fulfilling the first part at least of my tercentenary wish!—and continues with his somewhat better-known group of 21 fantasias for two trebles and bass. MB 78, looking very distinguished in the hardback maroon binding now adopted for the series, contains his ten fantasia-suites in three movements (fantasia—almaine—galliard) for two trebles, bass and organ, and 15 fantasia-suites in two movements (fantasia—ayre, together with two supernumerary ayres in E minor and E major) for the same ensemble. The four groups of pieces have a good deal in common, inasmuch as all are essentially in a trio texture and all dispense with the tenor viol. These authoritative scores have the great merit of allowing us, for perhaps the first time, to study and appraise each group as a whole, and perceive how Jenkins modified his creative style from group to group. What is more, by producing sets of string parts (and for one group an organ part) for use in conjunction with each volume the editor and publishers emphasize that the editions are intended for live performance, not just for reference and contemplation.

Each volume contains a concise discussion of the music's historical background and style, an explanation of the editorial method adopted, notes on instrumentation and performance, several pages of well-chosen and well-produced facsimiles, and a descriptive list of the relevant manuscript sources. There is also a textual commentary, where performers and scholars can find out more about variant readings in the manuscripts; these are recorded in a standard shorthand form, but the tabular layout in MB 78 is an improvement on earlier volumes, making the commentary easier to use. The music itself is printed with the clarity and care that we have come to expect from this series.

It has to be said that not a lot new has come to light in the course of the past thirty years either about Jenkins's musical life or about the textual transmission and reception of these particular pieces. In introducing each volume Ashbee admits as much when he refers the reader to the outline of the composer's life that he gave in MB 26, and goes on to explain that 'with so little information to hand regarding Jenkins's career, only a general indication of the chronology of his compositions can be attempted'. Nevertheless the editions do prompt reflections on how these groups of pieces came into existence, and the extent to which Jenkins planned them as coherent sets. Take for example the 21 fantasias for two trebles and bass (MB 70, nos. 29-49), of which—uniquely—an autograph score survives (British Library, Add. MS 31428). A specimen of the composer's penmanship at its most exquisite, this autograph fair copy was, Ashbee believes, almost certainly prepared in the mid- to late 1640s for the composer's friend and patron Sir Nicholas Le Strange (1604-1655) at Hunstanton Hall, overlooking The Wash. The 21 pieces have the unmistakable look of a carefully organized *opus*. There are three consecutive fantasias on each of seven tonics, fanning out sharpwards round the circle of fifths from G minor to E minor, then flatwards from C minor to B flat major. Some of the music at least was probably new: Jenkins

seems to have avoided using signatures of more than two flats or sharps before about 1644, so Fantasia No. 15 in C minor (which is given its ‘modern’ key-signature of three flats in the autograph score and every other manuscript in which it is found) may well have been composed more or less simultaneously with the writing of Add. MS 31428.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, at least four of the fantasias were evidently in circulation a dozen years or more before that—perhaps even by 1625—because they occur in such early sources as Los Angeles, Clark Memorial Library, Music MS ff1995M4; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus.Sch. E.437-42; and Oxford, Christ Church, Music MSS 473-8. Rather like J.S. Bach compiling the second book of the ‘48’, one has the impression of Jenkins assembling some of his earlier pieces, adding fresh ones in a variety of keys in order to make up a systematic set, and preparing a calligraphic manuscript in a style that would satisfy his own and Sir Nicholas’s exacting standards. In the uncertain cultural climate of the Civil War and its aftermath, the opportunity to form orderly collections of this kind for a patron’s library perhaps offered the best chance of his music enduring.

A similar impulse may underlie the noble series of fantasias, together with a sombre, elegiac pavan, for treble, two bass viols and organ (MB 70, nos. 1-28). Ashbee considers these to have been ‘mostly composed in the 1630s and 1640s’. A set of partbooks copied in 1654 for Dudley, 3rd Baron North (1582-1666) is the sole source for most of them. During the last dozen years or so of Lord North’s life Jenkins spent much time at the family’s Cambridgeshire house, Kirtling Hall, where he taught the young Roger North, and though not personally involved in the preparation of these partbooks he may well have provided the exemplars from which North’s scribe worked. The sequence is less systematic than Sir Nicholas L’Estrange would have chosen, but covers a wide array of keys: A minor (4 pieces), A major (1), B flat major (3), C minor (2), C major (2), D minor (1), D major (2), E minor (4), F major (4), G minor (4) and G major (1). Ashbee rightly points to the way the style of the Caroline fantasia-suite is reflected in certain aspects of the set, such as the exposed organ solos, the triple-time interjections, and the generally rhetorical manner. Significantly, these features are largely absent from Fantasias Nos. 2, 3 and 5, which may have been among the first to be composed, since they are found in sources thought to have been copied in London in the mid-1630s.

Exactly how and when Jenkins first came into contact with the innovative fantasia-suites for violins, bass viol and organ of Coprario and William Lawes remains unclear. Undoubtedly, however, these composers (especially the former) provided the main formal and stylistic models for Jenkins’s own suites of fantasia, almaine and galliard—ten for two trebles, bass viol and organ, and a companion group of 17 for one treble, bass viol and organ. The publication of the two-treble group in its entirety (MB 78, nos. 1-10) is greatly to be welcomed, for editions of any of these pieces have hitherto been few and far between. The music has come down to us in just three sources, the most complete being a set of partbooks (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch.

---

<sup>2</sup> See Andrew Ashbee, ‘The Transmission of Consort Music in Some Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts’, in *John Jenkins and his Time*, ed. Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp.246-7; Christopher D.S. Field, ‘Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony’, *ibid.*, pp.68-72.



C.82) copied probably in the late 1650s by the same North family scribe who wrote out the fantasias and pavan for treble, two bass viols and organ. Another organ book, also thought to have belonged to the North family, contains keyboard parts for just two of the suites. The third source (British Library, Add. MS 31423, ff. 154-171) is an incomplete set of partbooks of the other eight suites. In the past it has been tentatively suggested that Roger North's elder brother Francis, Lord Guilford (1637-1685), could have been its copyist, though that now seems improbable, since Robert Thompson has shown that the partbooks are likely to date from the mid-1680s or later.<sup>3</sup> The source is nevertheless noteworthy, because it shows that as late as the reign of William and Mary Jenkins's pre-Commonwealth music continued to retain a foothold in the chamber repertory, alongside airs from Lully's *tragédies en musique* and trio sonatas from Marino Silvani's anthology *Scielta delle suonate* (Bologna, 1680) and G.B. Vitali's *Sonate da chiesa* (Venice, 1684).

Ashbee, while understandably reluctant to speculate over-fancifully about dates and provenances, regards these fantasia-suites as likely to have been composed 'around the 1630s and 1640s', and to have been played 'in the Derham and Le Strange households alongside the suites of Coprario, and perhaps also those of Lawes'. This of course raises the further question: how did fantasia-suites find their way from the private music of the Caroline court into the houses of Norfolk gentry? It is now generally accepted that Coprario composed his in the early 1620s for 'Coprario's Musique', a consort within the household of Prince Charles which included the violinist John Woodington. When the prince became King Charles I in 1625, Coprario was given a court place as 'Composer of our musicke in ordinary', at which point the centre of activity of 'Coprario's Musique' no doubt shifted from St James's Palace to Whitehall, where the suites continued to be performed after Coprario's death in 1626. In his *Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1664) Playford wrote of the late king's particular affection for these pieces: 'For Instrumental Musick none pleased him like those incomparable Fantazies for one *Violin* and *Basse Viol* to the Organ, composed by Mr. *Coperario*'. Lawes, who had been Coprario's pupil, is thought to have written his fantasia-suites for the same ensemble in or about 1635, the year of his court appointment.

One can imagine compositions for such particular forces being treated at first as a kind of instrumental *musica reservata*, confined to a fairly tight circle of royal musicians. By the late 1630s, however, there are signs that it had begun to spread further afield. Some of the stages that brought it into the possession of Jenkins's East Anglian patrons can be tentatively reconstructed, even if most of the manuscripts themselves are lost, and it is tempting to think that Jenkins himself may have been the conduit for much of this material. Little is known about his activities and contacts with London musicians in the 1630s and early 1640s, but his participation in *The Triumph of Peace* in 1634 alongside Woodington and Lawes is well documented. We know that partbooks for ten

---

<sup>3</sup> Robert Thompson, 'Some Late Sources of Music by John Jenkins', in *John Jenkins and his Time*, pp.279-80, 289-90. Some scholars have nevertheless continued to repeat the identification of Francis North as the scribe: see for example Jamie C. Kassler, *The Beginnings of the Modern Philosophy of Music in England: Francis North's 'A Philosophical Essay of Musick' (1677)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p.23 (note 93).

of Coprario's suites for one violin were owned by the Derham family, because Sir Nicholas Le Strange borrowed them when compiling his own more comprehensive set of playing parts. Of Sir Nicholas's set only the organ book in its original vellum binding now survives (British Library, Add. MS 23779), along with two leaves of his annotations on the project and a tabulated index which Jenkins made of the entire set when the work had been completed. Le Strange checked the texts of three of these suites against a manuscript that he calls 'Barnards score B[ook]'. This score almost certainly came from John Barnard, a minor canon of St Paul's Cathedral, whose musical colleagues there included John Woodington. For Coprario's two-violin suites, Le Strange seems to have based his text on an autograph score belonging to Coprario's executor Richard Ligon. Ligon owned land in the Lincolnshire fens, but before sailing to Barbados in 1647 he seems to have lived mainly in London or Westminster. His score (which Le Strange refers to as 'origin[al] mr Ligon's') consisted of three staves—one for each string part—on which independent material for the organ was shown as necessary. Such 'compressed scores' could be used for an organist to play from, as well as for the preparation of string parts. Le Strange's scribe made a faithful transcript of this compressed score; one of Jenkins's tasks subsequently was to extract a two-stave organ reduction from it.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, or a little later, the same ten Coprario fantasia-suites as in the Derham manuscript found their way to the North family at Kirtling, along with all 16 of Lawes's.

Jenkins's suites of fantasia, almaine and galliard were obviously a direct response to this courtly repertory. To them he brought his personal style—generally more spacious and lyrical than Coprario, more genial and less flamboyant than Lawes. Maybe it was only the Civil War that prevented them from entering the repertory of the king's 'Lutes, Viols and Voices'. Although Ashbee is quite justified in describing Jenkins's treble parts as for 'viol or violin' (in that order), Jenkins would certainly have known that the instruments of choice for such music at court were violins, and understood their capabilities. Nor can it be doubted that, even in provincial Norfolk, men like Lord North, Sir Thomas Derham and Sir Nicholas Le Strange would have been well aware of the royal associations of this style of composition. The presence of a chamber organ, such as the 'payer of Organs' ordered by Le Strange in 1630 for Hunstanton Hall (now in Smithfield, Virginia), was obviously a *sine qua non* for any house where this music was to be played, even though the keyboard's independent contributions to the texture in Jenkins's two-violin fantasia-suites are more restricted than in those of Lawes, or of Hingeston (who unlike the others was an organist). As Dr Ashbee points out, Jenkins's organ parts spend a lot of time doubling the strings, often at the octave below. Where I would disagree with him is in his assertion that 'Coprario's organ parts are much more interesting and independent than those of Jenkins', and that their texture is 'more complex' (MB 78, p. xxiii). Apart from imitative solo openings, occasional short passages where violins or bass viol fall silent, and some harmonic filling-out at cadences, Coprario conceived

---

<sup>4</sup> Christopher D.S. Field, 'Formality and Rhetoric in English Fantasia-Suites', in *William Lawes 1602-1645*, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp.206-9 and 243-5 (notes 49-66); id., 'Stephen Bing's Copies of Coprario Fantasia-Suites', *Early Music* 27 (1999), 311-17.

the organ parts of his two-violin suites essentially as reductions of the string parts, as can be seen from the ‘compressed scores’ and the unfinished royal organ book British Library, R.M. 24.k.3. An organist such as Orlando Gibbons, faced with one of Coprario’s compressed scores, would have had to make some adjustments in order to bring the material comfortably beneath his hands, but probably would not have felt it necessary to elaborate much. The two-stave organ part for the Coprario suites that Jenkins made for Le Strange, which is used in MB 46 (pp. 102-69), seems to me very similar in style to that for his own two-treble suites, including the octave doubling. Indeed I strongly suspect that he followed Coprario’s model to the extent of originally composing these suites as ‘compressed scores’, which could then be used as a basis for producing string partbooks and an organ book.

Our fourth group of pieces (MB 78, nos. 11-27), a series of 15 pairs of ‘Phansy’ and ‘Ayre’ for two trebles, bass viol and organ thoroughbass, comes from the Indian summer of Jenkins’s long creative life. Ashbee dates it to the period when Jenkins was active as a member of the Private Musick of Charles II, and the suggestion that it may have been intended for the same select ensemble at court as that for which Locke composed his *Broken Consort* (MB 32) does not seem to have been bettered yet.<sup>5</sup> Two sources survive, each containing all fifteen pairs (along with the two supernumerary airs), but the order of pieces is quite different in each. One of these sources is a set of vellum-bound partbooks (British Library, Add. MSS 27550-4) which also contains Jenkins’s fantasia-suites for two trebles, two bass viols and organ (MB 26, nos. 33-40). Half a dozen scribes were involved in its copying, one of whom—interestingly enough—was Jenkins’s friend and court colleague, the viol and theorbo player John Lillie, who entered the date ‘1674’ above one of the supernumerary airs (MB 78, no. 18) at the beginning of the first treble partbook.<sup>6</sup> A Cambridgeshire man, Lillie was patronized by the North family from whom Jenkins received hospitality in the 1660s, and as the composer grew more frail Lillie often collected his wages for him; aptly, one of the facsimiles in MB 70 shows the signatures of Lillie, Jenkins and Matthew Locke alongside one another in a record of court livery allowances for 1660-61. The other source (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. Sch. F.564-7) probably also dates from the 1670s. In these pieces Jenkins adopted a concisely structured, almost sonata-like style. Most include a section in triple time, often in the brisk saraband style of the time. The treble parts seem more idiomatically designed for violins than in the earlier fantasia-suites; there are short soloistic passages for the bass viol, and sometimes a brief interlude for organ alone. The organ part is written as a thoroughbass, sparsely figured and with occasional cueing of an upper line. (MB 78 does not contain a realization of this thoroughbass, but Ashbee provides one in the separately published set of parts.) Although ‘organ’ is named in the sources as the intended continuo instrument, the possibility of using theorbo—as Locke did in his *Broken*

---

<sup>5</sup> Christopher D.S. Field, ‘Jenkins and the Fantasia-Suite’, in *John Jenkins 1592-1678* (London: John Jenkins Tercentenary Committee, 1978), p.8; Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p.280.

<sup>6</sup> Facsimile in *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, i, compiled by Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson and Jonathan Wainwright (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p.353.

*Consort*—deserves to be borne in mind as a fitting alternative. Once again the composer took care to provide players with pieces in a wide variety of keys—eleven different major and minor keys in all, if one counts the single ayre in E major; what is more, modern key-signatures are employed for all of them, showing that even as he entered his eighth decade Jenkins was alert to how the theory and practice of music were evolving. Roger North remarked that in the last years of his life Jenkins became ‘a bundle of infirmitys and as to musick utterly effete’.<sup>7</sup> Yet one senses no lassitude or failing spirit here; rather, a sense of delight at being able to contribute something new and distinctive to the heady musical life of the Restoration court.

Two small points in Dr Ashbee’s introductions perhaps deserve to be mentioned, both of which coincidentally concern the perceived influence of William Lawes. In MB 70, p. xxi, the instance of a ‘Lawesian touch ... where harmony revolves around a single note in the treble’ should (I think) refer to ‘the end of **27**’ (i.e. Fantasia No. 26), not **28**; and in MB 78, p. xxiv, the passage in which ‘the treble dialogue is similar to passages in works by Lawes’ occupies bars 50-56 of **2a** (as the music is barred here), not bars 88-101. Such minor errors, however, scarcely detract from the excellence of the editorial presentation. Happily, MB 78 is described on the title-page as *Fantasia-Suites: I*. We look forward to further treats in store.

---

<sup>7</sup> Andrew Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins, I: The Fantasias for Viols* (Surbiton: Toccata Press, 1992), p.99, quoting from North’s ‘Essay of Musicall Ayre’.

# John Ward: Consort Music

DAVID PINTO

*John Ward Consort Music of Five and Six Parts.* Transcribed and edited by Ian Payne. *Musica Britannica* 67 (Stainer & Bell for the Musica Britannica Trust; London, 1995). Score, £75-50 (ISBN 0 85249 825 x).

*John Ward Consort Music of Four Parts.* Transcribed and edited by Ian Payne. *Musica Britannica* 83 (Stainer & Bell for the Musica Britannica Trust; London, 2005). Score, £69.50 (ISBN 0 85249 885 3).

Sets of parts for most of the music in these volumes are published by Stainer & Bell, under the catalogue references H368 (for MB 67) and AC221 (the 'Paris' fantasias and bass viol duos from MB 83). A special discount of 10% is available to members of the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain and the Viola da Gamba Society of America.

The rise of stock in John Ward has been undramatic but steady in recent times, and it leaves the Society well-placed for claiming a share of accrued credit in the initial flotation. Ernst Meyer's pioneering study *Early English Chamber Music* (2nd edn) paid him attention only to exemplify 'late Jacobean', increasingly 'mannerist' trends. His stature was recognised by a proportionate selection in 'Jacobean Consort Music', *Musica Britannica* 9—not the only *MB* volume to acknowledge help and advice from the English Consort of Viols, whose members included Robert Donington, provider of the first brief mention of Ward's fantasias to grace *Grove's Dictionary* (5th edn). But the Society's publications under Gordon Dodd gave a panorama to best advantage: another 6-part selection, more of the 4-part 'Paris' fantasias, and the 5-part fantasias almost entire, edited with dedication by Bill Davies. Toss in bass-viol duos to the organ (Dovehouse Editions), and Ward might be felt to have gained his place in the sun, promoted from a madrigalist imitator of Wilbye to a distinct talent of adventurous cast.

All that pales before Ian Payne's industry in undertaking a virtual Complete Works, if regrettably from no single publisher. It includes the manuscript madrigals (Stainer & Bell; *English Madrigal School*) and consort anthems (Corda Music Editions, with the three-part psalms to come). A sure feel for style in those also imbues the *MB* editions of the wordless side entire: *MB* 83 includes, unadvertised on the title-page, the 2-part bass aires and their miscellaneous arrangements for lyra viol, 4-part dance ensemble, or keyboard.

The Society's playing parts still hold their own where comparisons hold, since only one area is wholly dependent on a single, suspect source: the problematic 'Paris' fantasias. The difference of course is in the unrivalled platform that prefaces, full scores and annotated commentaries give for evaluation. Dr Payne surveyed Ward's stylistic makeup in *Chelys* 23 (1994), a prelude to a promised book-length treatment. His editions follow that in being engagingly stern over his man's shortcomings ('native conservatism'; 'can be somewhat repetitive and therefore static') but do concede 'a much more dynamic structural framework' that distinguishes the post-madrigalian writing. How that second phase came to be a natural outcome of Ward's development

is the nub. It is likely that he learned his craft without a sustained apprenticeship, 'on the job'; albeit in the right milieu. Never even nominally a royal servant, presumably his taste of the musical centre was a chance result of his earlier entry into the household of the italoophile Sir Henry Fanshawe, who for a bare three years was a favourite courtier of Henry Frederick, the first Stuart Prince of Wales (d. late 1612). This arouses curiosity for the part Ward played in the cultural shifts of that brief period (which Roy Strong has tellingly called a protestant 'lost renaissance') and the extent of his influence on Meyer's so-named 'Age of Plenty'. It still leaves him personally vulnerable to charges of artisan joinery, technical limitations in his counterpoint that could be termed amateurism. Overliberal recourse to complex suspensions was noted by Professor Donington: part and parcel of occasional gauche part-handling. One niggling habit is similar-motion cadential descent from dominant sevenths: sometimes multiply visible on a spread of score, as in 6-part fantasias no. 5 (penultimate bar) and no. 6, bar 5 (end of first full statement of the 'point': in both, awkward parallel 9ths or 16ths). Key-shifts show keen awareness of mass, but can be cumbersome. That does not prevent his harmonic palette from being perfunctory at times. Curiously, his capacity to deepen impact of text-illustration can falter in vocal music, mostly the anthems. But it all marks a natural conservative less than *au fond* an abstract thinker, grappling with new choices. He has a feel for sonorities; his zest for sequences has a force of purpose almost equal to Gibbons, in a more relaxed way, as in 6-part fantasia no. 1, one of Commander Dodd's discoveries. Another success is the 'riddling' gambit: 'sprung' triple-time entries pitted against each other in overall quadruple metre. It retained value for Jenkins (5-part fantasia no. 12). It is very characteristic of Gibbons too, in his free fantasias. Personal relations of the two arouse curiosity, since Gibbons wrote for Fanshawe's brother-in-law, Sir Christopher Hatton II.

Gibbons however never tackled free 5-part fantasia. On this level specifically, Ward's innovatory personal touch was possibly in taking hints about structure from John Coprario, and injecting outright canzona-like rhythms and procedures as much as madrigalian traits. He clearly had the social clout, for a time, for this blend to set a trend, earlier than Meyer supposed: ahead, surely, of lesser talents like Michael East. Dr Payne's discussions establish that he had a quite intensive ('feverish') decade or so from 1607 of composition. His 5-part fantasias must have evolved then and, as stated, be wholly of this period: they all appear in either the 'Tregian' anthology (before 1617?) or the Blossom Partbooks (Ontario, Case Western Reserve University; brought to light by Ross W. Duffin since publication). A smaller output of 6-part In Nomines and free fantasias, not radically dissimilar in style, cannot be much earlier: he may be closer to Thomas Lupo here (cf. openings of Fantasia no. 6 and 5-part Lupo no. 11), but there is no lack of senior figures to have benefited that side. Inventiveness and assurance in both give a sense of liberation compared to madrigals, printed (1613) or manuscript (contemporaneous, according to Dr Payne). Consort anthems and psalms circulated by 1619 too, judging by termini for manuscripts copied for Hatton or Fanshawe (Christ Church Mus MSS 56-60, 61-66). Bass-viol duos are also credibly assigned to the end of that time, by their indebtedness to Coprario.

The 4-part residue, harder to place on the evidence of surviving sources, falls into two dissimilar groups: 'Paris' fantasias (named from unique source-location), and a smaller but wider-spread six-fold 'Oxford' series, so-called from its fullest source, the 'Great Set' at Christ Church. Without venturing much on debateable source matters, it appears that both main texts are both posthumous. The Paris group occurs in a single Restoration score-volume: increasingly the Great Set seems unlikely to predate the 1640s, though the preface suggests otherwise. This does not affect the musical text, but commendable self-reliance in editorial judgement there contrasts with a less assured use of sources and stylistic development to advantage as evidence. It produces unnecessary fence-sitting in dating the Paris pieces, which have many of the marks of the wider but uncertain directions of the mid-'20s. They are not the only 4-part set with looser counterpoint that Dart and Coates in *MB* 9 felt typically Caroline: a series of eight, possibly attributable to Thomas Ford, occurs in a sole source, Dublin, Marsh Library MSS Z.3.4.7-12, and British Library MS 31423 has a further fragmentary six (respectively Anonymous 1335-1342 and 1305-1310 in the *Thematic Index*). These tend to the higher clef-configurations for a treble duet found in the Paris group; as does Richard Mico, also probably still writing in the later '20s on this scale (with tighter control). Ward's only 'career-break' is in his presumed departure from household music, some time between 1616, when Sir Henry, dedicatee of his madrigals, died, and 1622, by when he was a clerk in the Exchequer. He must soon have become isolated in this period: the only one to give a palpable cause for distinct styles. Time itself can hardly have been available earlier for him to develop a radically new one only to discard it, and so it makes best sense as quizzical later work: uncirculated, almost, perhaps unrevised; and not well copied. Some oddities are due to bad transmission: in the only 4-part fantasia with internal repetition (edition no. 20), for example, bars 31-2 have a treble line making poor sense that could easily be emended by its first occurrence, bars 20-1. The Oxford group by contrast has his most assured handling of harmony in anything preceding departure from the rim of court music, and so seems its likely direct precursor. Especially in the last of this series, a cheery piece in unaccustomed C major, there seems to be a stylistic shift. The key, extended bass range, atypical triple metre, and linear and harmonic features, all have too much in common with the 4-part double-bass fantasias by Gibbons (soon after 1616?) to be fortuitous.

Ward's own debts and later influence can bear closer examination in the 5-part sector too. The one *In Nomine* in five parts (placed with authentic works, but qualified by a cautionary note in the commentary, judging it atypically poor work) is fairly clearly misassigned. It is far more in the style of the alternative author, Simon Ives, and makes a small deviation from Taverner's *cantus firmus* found in Ives' other *In Nomine*: Ward's undisputed examples do not. Ives may have known Ward: he propagated his bass-viol aires in versions for 'string-quartet' or else *lyra viol*: for those, Ward seemingly never wrote, despite stylish and florid bass writing in his 6-part fantasias. Ives also gives the connection to the keyboard source for a further version in Elizabeth Cromwell's *Virginal Book*: that owes much of its repertoire to him or his circle, in the Commonwealth years to come.

But the most uncertain area is a sub-genre first mentioned by Dart and Coates in *MB* 9: ‘madrigal-fantasias’ with Italian titles by English writers, homage to foreign influence. How much began fully-texted in this corpus, or was most played instrumentally from the start? Any process of text-loss may have been accelerated by the death of Prince Henry. Here, Ward’s output may be a key as much as others, far larger, by Coprario and Lupo. Only three titled pieces by Coprario retain underlay, and none by Lupo. Even Ward’s sole extant texted example, ‘Cor mio, deh! non languire’, occurs in just one source, British Library MS Egerton 3665 (probably copied by Francis Tregian), which holds almost all surviving 5-part titled fantasias. It has a fascination greater than its intrinsic merits, for how much it speaks about Ward’s (and his circle’s) acquaintance with models. Dr Payne suggests Monteverdi as one, though unspecifically; and there seem to be closer models in items copied by Tregian on this text by Pallavicino and Giovanni Paolo Nodari. Even so, it was maybe the only Italianate English item accessible to Tregian still texted: judging from his practice with genuine madrigals, he preferred to give underlay when available, rather than just title-incipits. As a time-saving measure, even in fully vocal works, he never texted more than the lowest line (usually the bass). It is a shorthand that can on occasion bring confusion, as here in a wayward verbal copy needing correction, as noted by Dr Payne. Tregian may not be responsible for all its faults of course (one not his creeps into this edition: ‘anime’ for ‘anima’ in bar 9, though correct in the commentary discussion). One not yet fully sorted is a high-voice phrase ‘ma vivi, oimè, ch’ingiustamente muore’, begun during a bass absence in bars 36-7. Tregian texted ‘oimè’ to indicate a repeat of phrase (38), but that needs to be preceded by ‘ma vivi’, and again at the next bass entry (39-40). To omit it produces a hiatus ‘che in-’ and misplaces the stress of the whole phrase. But then the final phrase has a fault in basic word-division that must derive from the composer. Musical rhythm shows that he hypercorrected an abbreviated verb-form ‘tien nell’ altrui petto’ into ‘tiene l’altrui petto’, at the price of losing an essential preposition. Other things come through as unidiomatic ways with the verse, patently anglophone misemphases in accentuation and phrase: ‘languire’ stressed ‘languirè’ (bars 3-6); ‘aita’ a disyllable in the bass (29-30), unless something earlier in the phrase is amiss; ‘morrei’ a trisyllable (31), then ‘per’ parted from its verb ‘darti’ by a rest, pointless here since without illustrative force. And so on; but totting up Ward’s limits has a point in giving clues how to allow for idiosyncratic levels of diction in other titled works. ‘Non fu senza’ is, like ‘Cor mio’, a well-known madrigal-text by Guarini (the edition prints ‘senze’, but ‘senza’ also occurs in the titled partbook source, and seems a pity to hallow a spelling error). Allowing for slight mis-stressing, it fits to a T. No obviously applicable verse yet has surfaced for ‘Leggiadra sei’ (‘Graceful art thou’) and ‘Dolce languir’; in this last, long phrases, a canzona opening and a central modulatory passage verge on the unvocal. But how titles could have been garbled may be shown by the fifth, ‘La Rondinella’. That is no regular incipit but the title of a whole madrigal-issue: Gabriele Fattorini’s second, devoted to a ‘swallow’ theme popularised by a variety of epigrammatists, and known in 18th-century England, if no longer extant there. *La Cieca*, Fattorini’s first ‘themed’ set, was copied by Tregian, and ‘inglesi italianati’ around Sir Henry Fanshawe must have been as aware. We



may then have a *partial* incipit. Leeway for choice exists, but Fattorini's text 'Garrula Rondinella' (set by Sweelinck too) begins and continues promisingly.

Vocal influences on instrumental output, with all that may entail when reading between their lines to interpret 'affects', could be especially meaningful in the case of Ward, an English madrigalist of stature. It could in particular help see how much dissonance in his writing relates to word-painting, as in 'La Rondinella'. If either volume slights expectations, it is in following the implications of text-originals, and in giving a bolder lead over dating. But then few editions of the period have shown more alacrity; and Dr Payne's analysis of the composer's text hand and musical script (in the Christ Church partbooks, 61-66) has done more for Ward than any of his instrumentalist contemporaries. Illustrations of those, and principal manuscripts, are another bonus of these handsome, comprehensive monumental editions: like the sound musical texts, invaluable in promoting understanding. We are on the verge of seeing Ward entire, and the more to be reckoned with for the rounded view.

## Parisian Gamba duets (France, circa 1750)

JONATHAN DUNFORD

Six early Classical sonatas by an unknown composer for two bass viols -  
Collection Vm<sup>7</sup> 6297 of the National Library in Paris

*Pariser Gambenduos – Sechs frühklassische Sonaten eines unbekannten Komponisten für  
wei Bassgamben*

Editions Güntersberg, Langgarten 13, D-69124 Heidelberg

Web site : <http://guentersberg.de/>

In three volumes :

Parisian Gamba Duets, Sonatas I+II 2 bass viols score, 2 parts

G066 18.00 euros

Parisian Gamba Duets, Sonatas III+IV 2 bass viols score, 2 parts

G067 18.00 euros

Parisian Gamba Duets, Sonatas V+VI 2 bass viols score, 2 parts

G068 18.00 euros

The sheer quantity of repertoire for the viol as a solo instrument is remarkable. We violists have discovered Ortiz, Simpson, Marais and Bach and often we forget just how much wonderful repertoire lies dormant scattered in libraries and private collections all over the world. The research and subsequent performance of hitherto unknown music for our instrument is primordial and guarantees the longevity of the revival of the most noble of instruments.

We must therefore congratulate Günter von Zadow for publishing this special music for the very first time.

The present edition is in three volumes. Each volume contains two sonatas and separate parts for each viol, as well as a score. The handsomely presented edition is extremely clear and legible and the editor has carefully planned the page turns in the solo parts, so one need not turn a page quickly in the middle of a movement. The only regret I have is that a facsimile of the whole original manuscript is not included (except for two pages in the each volume). This is unfortunate as the original is :

- 1 - Extremely clear, “edition” quality and not just a “fuzzy” manuscript.
- 2 - A large format (26 x 33.5 cm) and only 45 pages
- 3 – Contains markings in pencil that are not reproduced in the present edition.

This manuscript was mentioned as early as 1963 by Karl Heinz Pauls who assigned the music to the Viennese Classic school. For years copies of this manuscript have crept in to our musical libraries. Everyone speculated as to who possible might have written this difficult and rococo style music. Names such as Jean-Baptiste Forqueray (son of Antoine), Carl Friedrich Abel, Mozart, Roland Marais (Marais’ son) Ernst Christian Hesse, Johann Gottlieb Graun,

Johann Christian Bach and even Marais' grandson Nestor-Marin Marais were proposed.

I'd like briefly to examine a few of the most plausible proposals :

To start with it is quite obvious that the person who wrote this music was a virtuoso on the viol. This was someone who was intimately familiar with the viol's technique and possibilities and not just a François Couperin or even a J.S. Bach writing beautiful music for an instrument they weren't particularly acquainted with.

For those who propose Jean-Baptiste Forqueray (1699 – 1782), he certainly was active in Paris at the time this music was written. Personally I do not find this music to be in his style. First, in Antoine Forqueray's *Pièces de Viole* (1747), Jean-Baptiste adds three of his own pieces to his father's collection (*La Angrave, La Du Vaucel and La Morangis ou La Plissay*) . Second, in a recently discovered manuscript "*Pièces à trios violes par Monsieur Forcroy*" (Lille, Archives du Nord) we can study a small suite by this composer. The style is flagrantly different from our present sonatas in a later Rococo style.

As for Mozart (1756 – 1791), the second movement of the Sonata Quinta in G minor in the present edition contains a theme that is found in Mozart's D minor piano concerto. We also know from correspondence with his father that Mozart wrote a solo for the Viola da Gamba (lost), named "*Excellence*" listed in a catalogue by Leopold Mozart (Vienna, 1768). I would argue, however, that attractive themes were often "borrowed" by another composer for his own works. I need not mention how many themes or entire pieces such a Pergolesi's Stabat Mater were entirely "borrowed" by J.S. Bach. Another point is that the present composer was intimately familiar with the viol's technique, which is not the case with Mozart (as stated above).

Roland Marais's (c.1680-c.1750) published suites are very much in the tradition of his father, in the typical French suite form, and I find no real reason to think that these present sonatas were composed by him.

One of the most plausible possibilities is Carl Friedrich Abel (1723 - 1787), who besides being a model for Mozart spent much time in Paris. What speaks against this theory is that the present music strays in style from the extant music for solo viol which we know Abel composed.

Johann Gottlieb Graun (1702 – 1771), who as far as we know never ventured into France, is the closest in style to this music. The double-stopping, large chords, arpeggios and triplet figures in Graun's music are highly reminiscent of the present works. Another possibility is Ludwig Christian Hesse (1716 – 1772), who was at the court of King Friedrich in Berlin and was a representative in Germany of the "French tradition," as his father had studied with both Marais and Forqueray in Paris. Are either one of these composers possibly the violist who wrote this music?

The most absurd proposition was that the music is by Marais' grandson Nestor-Marin Marais (c1715--1753), who was acclaimed by D'Aquin de Chateau-Lyon in 1753 as being the equal of Antoine Forqueray. This theory was based on the letters "N.M." appearing on the lower left corner of the first page. In fact, after months of pondering and correspondence, I realized that

the person who was proposing this had misread the library shelf number “V.M.” for “N.M.” (as in Vm<sup>7</sup> 6297)!

On the other hand the watermarks in the present manuscript are from France from this period, as well as the ornament symbols and bow strokes (“t” = tirer (pull) “p” = pousser (push)). These were standard in French viol music after Marais, and in the present manuscript are ubiquitous. The manuscript also contains French tempo indications such as “lent” (slow), “lentement” (slowly), or “Fin” (the end) as well as “T.S.V.P pour la Reprise” (Please turn for the next section). Therefore it is certain beyond any doubt that the music was copied in France. However, there are many precedents of a clear copy of “foreign music,” such as the Philip Falle’s manuscript housed in Durham of Sainte Colombe the younger’s music which is the only source of his music. One must now speculate on how, why and by whom the present manuscript was compiled in France if this theory holds up.

In any case more research is needed to establish with certitude who wrote this music.

The music itself is in the typical “Berlin school” style of *Sturm und Drang* as well as the *Empfindsamer Stil*. The first five sonatas each have four movements (slow – fast – slow – fast), and only the last sonata (Sonata Sesta) contains three movements. Certain movements are marked “Cantabile” or “Presto” but the composer also uses the older style Suite references such as “Corrente,” “Sarabanda” and “Giga.”

The music is presented as duos, but in fact the first viol has a much more prevalent and virtuoso role compared with the second viol. The first viol contains large chords, double stops, subtle articulation and arpeggios that encompass a large tessitura. This music is technically on par with the music of Forqueray or Abel. Punctually the second viol responds to the first in a flourish of thirty-second notes, or a held double stop. But in general the role of the second viol is an accompaniment and reminds me of the second viol’s role in the music of Louis de Caix d’Hervelois. The bass is not figured, although one might imagine adding more harmony if one was so inclined.

The first sonata in G major contains four movements; the first three have been assigned the names (by the editor) (Siziliano), (Allegro), (Rondeau) and the last is an Allegro with variations. Except for the last movement which contains difficult arpeggios and thirty-second notes the first three movements are on a “G major Bach sonata” level.

The second sonata in A major contains four movements: Andante, Corrente, Sarabanda and Giga. Again we have a “mixed bag” in terms of the technical level, and with a little practice the slow movements are feasible for a moderate level violist while the Giga taken *a tempo* would require much higher proficiency.

The third sonata in F major contains an Andante, Presto, Andante (in a-flat), and finishes with a Cantabile. If the violist is at ease with a high d on the top string, all but the first movement should be possible for somebody with a medium/high level of skill.

The fourth sonata in D major contains four movements, Andante, Allegro, Aria and Allegro. Here we find a prevalent use of double stops even in high positions as well as many arpeggios. This sonata would be for a more experienced player.

The fifth sonata in G minor contains four movements, Largo, Allegro, Largo and a Giga - Allegro. With some practice a moderate level player will find satisfaction in the slow movements, but the fast movements require a more skilled hand.

The sixth and last sonata in A minor contains only three movements, Allegro, Aria – Cantabile (with variations). Chock-full of large chords and arpeggios this sonata would lend itself to the more experienced violist.

Lastly, I would also like to suggest that those who would like to listen to this music and give themselves an idea of its beauty should consult the breathtaking and sumptuous recording by Wieland Kuijken of the Sonata Sesta. (Accent “Les Maisons de Plaisance” *Music for Two Viols* ACC 99132 D).